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Ph.D

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Processes of Identity in Female Police Officers

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Abstract

Almost all studies of policewomen are concerned with strong and specific strains on the identity. The literature reviewed reveals both two social divides and two occupational divides. Theories of identity are also reviewed and these similarly separate into those concerned with socialisation and others which focus on struggles, on conflicts. Both draw attention to the social contexts and to coping strategies. From these literature based accounts a methodology is derived which brings together the quantitative and the qualitative through the use of the survey, the interview and participant observation. There were 152 respondents, 24 interview subjects and three periods of observation.

The key link is to be found in the Theory of Type. There is a policewomen personality which extraverts 'sensing'; external world patterns and facts are preferred to abstract relationships. This type is in balance with the background characteristics identified. Family members encouraged joining, educational levels are higher than average and the women joined especially for job security and pay along with a value of public service. Their dislikes spread across their treatment by both men and the management structure. Their likes are for the variety and unpredictability of the work itself. The critical incident interviews deepen the understanding of the conflicts experienced, five major conflicts being identified. The responses include confrontation, a strategy previously unidentified as having the same degree of significance as others in managing conflicts of identity. Passing and denial are much less frequently used. The longer serving and the promoted women are more likely to be confrontational in their responses to contradictions.

The distinction between *police*women and police*women* was not identifiable in this sample. The greatest preference for managing contradictions and conflict was through assertion and confrontation. These data lead to the conclusion that gender identity can be a synthesis rather than a segmentation. Furthermore this synthesis may be both personal and stable and an aspect of policewomen whether on or off duty.

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INTRODUCTION

Foreword

The structure of this account is to discuss each field, policing, policewomen, identity and method as distinct areas with their own literature and prevailing logic. Once the field has been reviewed options are drawn out and then choices are made. Thus each chapter contains its own debates and contributes specific qualities to the overall debate which is being developed. This debate acknowledges that policewomen are 'different'; the question is whether differences should be seen as sites of deficit or as sites as development, as a matter of coping or as the raw material of personal and occupational creativity.

This study takes the form of an enquiry process rather than an enlightenment polemic. The findings from each field are brought together in the sequence by which they occurred.

Introduction

The research represents an attempt to explain the processes of identity development and synthesis in female police officers.

Women have served as officially recognised officers within the British police service since the end of the first World War (Jones, 1986). However they still represent a minority within the police service both in number and in their presence at senior levels at which they might be expected to influence policy. The effects of the equal opportunities legislation of the 1970's, particularly the Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) were to integrate women's pay, duties and administrative structures into the, hitherto male, constabularies, but this did not necessarily increase their participation in all aspects of police work, nor did it increase their numerical representation in the police force.

Although it had long been recognised that gendered identities could represent a problem for women in experiencing feelings of self-worth and self-value (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990), the period during which the equal opportunities legislation was enacted also saw an expansion in the participation of women in jobs which had hitherto been seen as "male" (Spencer and Podmore, 1987) and an increased interest in the ways in which

identity was managed by women working in male gendered jobs (Breakwell, 1986). However, research into the experiences of female police officers has tended to focus on the experiences of discrimination and harassment they have experienced (for example, Martin, 1979; Jones, 1986) rather than on the psychological processes through which they manage contradictions in the gender identity positions they occupy and the ways in which they respond to threatened identities.

In chapter One the literature on the experiences of women police officers is reviewed. Research has been carried out in several countries including the U.K., the United States, Australia and Suriname. Although the formal structures of policing differ in these countries one identifiable common experience is that women are expected in their work as police officers to conform to expected values for gender-appropriate behaviour for women. They are not given access to all the opportunities available to male colleagues, are expected to prefer work in "feminine" aspects of policing such as cases involving children, and are subject to hostility and to derogation of their work skills.

In chapter Two research on identity formation and responses to identity contradictions are reviewed. This research is then used as a basis for exploring the possible nature of contradictory identities experienced by policewomen and the strategies they could adopt for managing those contradictions and threats.

Chapter Three focuses on specific issues relating to the methodological problems associated with researching identity dynamics. Theories of identity which address themselves to identity dynamics and processes are reviewed and conclusions drawn as to the nature of appropriate methodologies to be used in this study. At the end of this chapter the conceptualisation of the research problem is explained and an appropriate research methodology is proposed. This involves a series of stages in the research process, each stage informing the next. The research tools used were a questionnaire, the Myers-Briggs Type Inventory and a series of one-to-one interviews using the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan, 1954).

In chapter Four the initial stages of the research are described. A

questionnaire was distributed to policewomen in three different police forces and in this chapter those questions relating to the basic biographical features of the sample are analysed and the implications of the findings are discussed.

Chapter Five considers the responses to the MBTI questionnaire; the MBTI indicates the preferred work style of individuals, indicating whether they are oriented to people or ideas, to rational thought or to intuition and creativity, to decisions based on regulations or decisions based on values and ideals, and to drawing general conclusions about events or to prefer to see each experience as a separate event. The findings were that the sample differed from the general population of women on specific dimensions and there appeared to be a characteristic "personality" or style for policewomen.

In chapter Six the questions on the initial questionnaire which related to expectations and values for policework, and to the women's experienced likes and dislikes, are analysed and the implications of findings discussed.

Chapter Seven describes the development and the conduct of the critical incident interviews, which were carried out with twenty-four policewomen. The interview data are analysed firstly according to the critical incident items chosen. Particular themes of experience emerged. These are analysed in the second part of this chapter. Here the strategies of response identified in chapter Two as being available to women in conditions of contradictory identities, are examined. It was found that women used a number of different strategies to manage contradiction and conflict and at times these were limited by the structural constraints of the police service. Although five different strategies were identified the dominant strategy adopted by all the women, irrespective of rank or length of service, was that of confrontation. This finding differed from the findings of other researchers that when faced with contradictory identity positions, policewomen tended to adopt either a feminine or a masculine style of interaction. These findings are discussed and considered with respect to the results of the findings described in the preceding three chapters.

Chapter Eight introduces a discussion of the findings of this research and their implications for both male and female police officers as well as for the

police service and for the public experience of being policed. Possible reasons for differences and similarities between these findings and those of other researchers investigating the experiences of policewomen are explored.

Chapter 1

WOMEN IN POLICING

Introduction

Research into the experiences of female police officers has been primarily focused on three areas. One area of focus has been practices of discrimination against women in the police service (e.g. Jones, 1986). A second focus has been the history of women in the police service, from both a national and international perspective, and before and after the anti-discrimination legislation of the 1970's, particularly the Sex Discrimination Act (1975). Such studies have found that the experiences of policewomen are similar to those of women in other occupations, both professional and manual (Boston, 1987). A third area of research has been the study of individual policewomen, reported in the form of either biography or collected anecdotes about experiences of these policewomen. This category encompasses a more popularist approach (e.g. Lucas 1986; 1988) and has tended to rely on stereotypical images of femininity to promote a particular style of female policing.

This chapter reviews the findings of research into 'being a policewoman' and identifies some of the major themes related to the development of a work identity, locating the theoretical framework and associated methodological assumptions within which each theme is situated. In particular the extent to which assumptions about identity have been made when looking at the oppositional relationship between women's perceptions of expected behaviours within and outside work will be examined.

Historical Perspectives

There have been certain key periods during which the role of women police officers and their relations with their male colleagues have changed dramatically. It is possible to identify four such key periods during which policy decisions were made that have had a significant effect on the experiences of policewomen in the British police service.

In 1922 women in the Metropolitan Police were granted the full powers of a sworn constable although, almost immediately, as Jones (1986) noted, a cost-cutting exercise stimulated by the report of the Geddes Committee led to the number of sworn female officers being reduced from 112 to 24.

During the 1939-45 war women took on hitherto male duties in policing as in other occupations; however although women performed their work satisfactorily (Home Office Police Postwar Reports, 1946), the majority were not sworn officers but members of the Women's Auxiliary Police. The number of sworn female officers increased by only 126 (to 418) during this period. Jones (1986) suggested that the war-time contribution of women had a substantial effect in changing police and public attitudes as to the value of women in law enforcement.

In 1946 and in 1947 a Postwar committee recommended increased employment and deployment of policewomen. By 1960 one in thirty-two officers was a woman (Fielding and Fielding, 1992). During the post-war years, until the passing of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1975, women in the police service were treated discretely. They had different hours, pay and conditions of service to those of their male counterparts. The majority of women police officers were assigned to duties consistent with traditional practices of the sexual division of labour (Jones 1986). The rise in female crime in the second half of the twentieth century was responded to by the increasing involvement of policewomen in interviewing female and juvenile suspects. Smart (1981) has argued that this merely served to underline traditional female gender role behaviour. Policewomen served in separate departments from men and had their own rank, promotion and inspectorate structure. They did not "work nights" unless called out to interview a female or a juvenile in an indecent assault case and they were paid at a rate which was 90% that of a male officer. Although a limited number of women were given duties normally seen as the domain of males, such as CID investigations, the majority were concerned with duties such as the investigation of offences committed against women, escorting female and juvenile offenders, interviewing female suspects and some male juveniles. Women also dealt with investigations of child neglect cases and liaison relating to local care orders, liaising with social workers with

regard to missing persons, and cases relating to families, children and women with personal and domestic problems.

By the beginning of the 1970's the changing social climate and the economic requirement for female workers led to the implementation of the Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975). The Equal Pay Act did not bring about the profound change in women's working conditions which had been anticipated; most employers segregated males and females in such a way that the opportunity for women to put into operation the 'equal pay for equal work' ruling was eliminated. Policewomen were no exception; without proof of equal work, which was denied policewomen because of the different practices governing their work, there was no absolute right under the law to equal pay. Once again, the experiences of policewomen were no exception to the experiences of the majority of working women; it was not until the European Court ruled that equal pay should be based on equivalent value of work rather than on comparison with a man doing identical work that the Equal Pay Act was amended (1982) and thus allowed women to take action against employers who refused them equal pay.

As a consequence of the Equal Pay Act, and in anticipation of the content of the Sex Discrimination Act (1975), policewomen's salaries were made up to the same level as those of men and many forces began to employ women on more general police work (Jones, 1986).

The Sex Discrimination Act had a powerful influence on policewomen in that it led to major changes in the formal context within which policewomen worked; it also allowed for a redefinition of what constituted a policewoman's job in the final quarter of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, it did not herald a profound change in the social climate within which female identity may be considered to be structured (German, 1989). Whilst the legal rights of women were somewhat enhanced during this period, it seems reasonable to propose that popular images of women were not commensurately modified. Moreover, such popular imagery is rooted in unspoken assumptions about human nature which are also identifiable in certain studies relating to policewomen. For instance, it has long been held (e.g. Lester, 1986; Kakabadse and Dainty 1988) that the successful police

officer can be specifically defined in terms of personality characteristics and preferred work style. Such essentialist positions propose that policewomen will experience problems in performance of their duties either because the specific personality type carries other, disadvantageous traits in women (Lucas 1986) or because women having the appropriate personality traits are nonetheless incapable, because of different socialisation experiences, of developing appropriate work styles.

An alternative, and perhaps more parsimonious, interpretation may be that the history of police women shows them to be no 'different' from other women workers in terms of their experiences of unequal opportunities and discrimination, but, rather, they are interpellated[1] as women (just as men are interpellated as men) and such interpellation carries with it specific difficulties in relation to police work due to its traditional gender specificity. Given this interpretation, the process of 'becoming a police officer' cannot be viewed simplistically in terms of personality traits and socialisation experiences. The development of an identity in work for women may not be viewed simply as one of reaction or assimilation of received knowledge and values, but as a personal process of synthesis. This point has implications for the methodology appropriate to this study and will be reviewed at the end of this chapter.

Career Expectations of Policewomen

It has already been mentioned that some researchers view police officers as being essentially self-selecting and coming from the population of individuals with specific, often masculine, personality traits. It has often been questioned as to why a women should chose an occupation which is defined either explicitly or through instantiation as 'no job for a girl' and it has even been suggested that "male" jobs are chosen by women who wish to challenge stereotyped gender roles (Wilkinson, 1986).

However research evidence does suggest that some women choose a career in policing for the traditional female role they see it as offering them (Meagher and Yentes, 1986). The number of women joining the police

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[1] Whilst the concept of interpellation has its origins in Althusserian structuralism (Althusser, 1971), its use here is intended to connote the structural aspects of identity formation, rather than an uncritical adoption of structuralist social theory.

force since 1975 has increased but the proportion of police officers who are female has diminished (Jones, 1986). The rise in police establishment figures, part of a response to increasing public anxiety over crime levels, has led to hopes that police officers will be increasingly representative, in terms of gender, class and ethnic origins, of the communities they serve (Scarman, 1981). Certain forces have increasingly tried to recruit from sub-groups of the population whom they see as being under-represented, with varying degrees of success. For example the South Wales Constabulary have tried to increase the proportion of women in the force to 10%; however they report (Bourlet, 1989) a lack of suitably qualified applicants.

Since policework is seen as a male occupation, policewomen have, like the growing number of other women who have entered occupations from which they have previously been barred or discouraged from entering, faced a series of pressures and dilemmas concerning appropriate work-styles, relationships and identities. Gross (1984) noted that females entering the police force were generally self-confident and idealistic about their work-roles and interactions with colleagues. After eight weeks in training school their feelings about their male peers had worsened by 80% and their self-esteem ratings considerably diminished; policewomen reported feelings of confusion, self-doubt and sex-role conflict which Gross suggested were often the causes of behaviour which led to domestic or career problems. Gross proposed a combination of education for men (about how useful women could be) and support for women to counteract the high turnover rate for female officers.

The reasons given by women for choosing an 'unnatural' career in police service are frequently highly feminine in the traditional sense. Meagher and Yentes (1986) studied the reasons given by male and female officers for their own decision to join the police and the same officers perceptions of *other* male and female officers reasons for joining. Both male and female officers reported a desire to help others as being the most important criterion in their own decision, supporting the findings of Fielding (1988) but contradicting those of Martin (1979); however their perception of other officers was that for them, 'helping' was the fourth most important reason for women joining and the tenth most important for males. Women,

their respondents felt, were most likely to join for 'excitement and variety' while men were perceived to be influenced by career-related motives - by factors such as pay, job security, authority and power.

Jones (1986) suggested that these career related factors were of prime importance for the women in her study; in any event it is not possible to separate such factors from prevailing economic and social conditions (Cross, 1977; Corns, 1988). Meagher and Yentes found that overall, women officers saw the reasons for males becoming policemen as being related to male characteristics such as ambition, a desire for authority and status, while male officers saw the reasons for females joining the police force as being linked to female characteristics, particularly caring, social services and a liking for a lively job with lots of variety. The lack of correlation between officers expressed reasons for joining and their perceived reasons for others joining might give a clue to the origins of the expressed prejudices of male officers about female officers (Balkin, 1988) and some of the negative experiences reported by women officers (van Wormer, 1979; Jones, 1986). The discrepancies follow traditional gender-behaviour lines and might reflect a genuine lack of awareness of colleagues' values and motives or might be a measure of social desirability in self-reporting. Certainly other studies show women enter policing in part because, compared with other female occupations, it offers a greater flexibility in daily routine as well as an above average salary. Policework offers the chance to develop existing skills or acquire new ones (Kennedy and Homant, 1981); often these are such that they enhance career prospects outside the police service and provide women with opportunities for wider career development (Jones 1986).

The view that women enter the police with the goal of acting as a social worker for the whole community is widely held (Horne, 1974) although Fielding and Fielding (1987) find this is an important motivating factor for both males and females. Graef (1989) reports a conversation with a woman torn between nursing and the police force as a career; she reported being told by her brothers, both policemen, that the police service was not a job for a girl. She decided they were wrong. There is a view prevalent among policewomen that policework is a 'respectable' helping profession (Arcuri, 1976), directed towards specific goals of helping the community which other

helping professionals do not have. Fielding (1988) rejects the suggestion that this is a female point of view; he found that this helping aspect of policework to be valued among male and female officers and that personal responsibility for public order and public well-being, for example, being able to write a ticket, warn or even ignore a situation according to what best fitted the situation was an essential part of self-esteem for a police officer.

Jones (1986) found that a desire for new challenges and variety were cited by a number of officers as a reason for joining the police service. Arcuri (1976) suggested that in no other profession do individuals go to their daily work with such a combination of apprehension and stimulation.

Although they appreciate the sense of service the job gives them and the status they have within the community as police officers (Martin, 1979), paradoxically one of the main reasons given by policewomen for not staying in the job and for experiences of stress is the lack of public appreciation of the job. This is reported by males and females alike but the change in public attitudes seems to be particularly noticed by policewomen; although one of the commonest positive public attitudes towards female police officers is that they can defuse potentially violent situations (Gross, 1984; Wexler, 1985; Morash and Greene, 1986; Balkin, 1988) the women themselves perceive that although they may be more adept socially than police*men*, the reluctance to use violence against a woman in public, which was characteristic of their experience ten years previously, had now vanished and many officers reported assaults as being a normal expectation of the job (Lucas, 1986; Jones 1986; Graef, 1989). They no longer expect to be helped by the public:

"*I remember going to a great deal of care to chose this super dress for a dance and then being on night duty and getting a good hiding from two young boys....they were fighting. I went over to separate them and they both started on me... it was outside a crowded restaurant and no one came to help... not a soul came out to help*" (Graef, 1989),

and they respond to public indifference by assigning disrespectful people to devalued social categories (Fielding, 1988). Heider explained this phenomenon in terms of psychological balance (1958); people distance themselves from groups or individuals whose views on issues highly

salient to themselves are contradictory, by a process of devaluation of those groups or individuals.

Although, in theory, the police are expected to enforce all laws, in practice they are expected to ignore some laws and many lawbreakers. The police are often isolated by the inconsistent demands made on them by civilians; this is especially the case in heterogenous communities - as in many cities - where different social classes, ethnic groups and economic groups live side by side, and where very different conceptions often exist of the nature of the police role in serving the public interest. This can lead to emergence of the police officer who regards the public as an enemy or feels his or her occupation to be in conflict with the public (Corns, 1988). The lack of consistent or explicit public appreciation is found across the social spectrum although it has been suggested by Benson (1981) that distrust and active dislike of the police has its origins in political alienation and hence is highly correlated with membership of those social groups most likely to be alienated, namely the working classes, rather than the higher socio-economic groups in whose political interest the police might be seen as acting. Recruitment policy is still based on the principle of the late nineteenth century "*...to recruit men who had not the rank, habits , or station of gentlemen ...(but) in tune with the people, ..belonging to the people and drawing its strength from the people*" (Critchley, 1967) and the aim of most forces is to recruit from across the spectrum of British people.

Nevertheless in spite of the high proportion of working class males entering the police service (Benson, 1981; Corns, 1988; Fielding, 1988), working class people are more likely to be arrested and charged after an offence while middle class people are more likely to be cautioned (Corns, 1988) and it is this which might lead to the mistrust of the police (Arcuri, 1976; Corns, 1988). The distrust of the police amongst the British middle and upper classes is not clearly explicable within Benson's framework; however although not alienated it may be that they see police work as a 'necessary evil' in terms of occupation and respond to the job-holder, rather than to the job and its value for them *per se.* Policework is certainly not thought of as work for the educated (Fielding, 1988) nor for the 'upper classes' (Corns, 1988).

Jones (1986) reported that in general female recruits are more highly qualified academically than are males (13.6% of female recruits in 1982 were graduates compared with 10.3% of males; 41% females had 5 or more O-levels compared with 33.8% males). She noted that the difference between male and female recruits had widened since the passing of the Sex Discrimination Act (Jones, 1986) although the causes of this might lie in changes in educational trends rather than a disproportionate recruitment of women from backgrounds in which education is valued. It would however appear that certain socio-economic groups as well as ethnic minorities and women are underrepresented in the police service.

Some officers' comments on their relationships with former friends or colleagues suggest a sensitivity to the transition which being a police officer necessitates making across social and economic boundaries, and the price which is paid of increasing alienation from the community in which they were brought up. Fielding noted the comments of one serving officer on attitudes towards them from people not employed by the police:
"*They've got this rise now but I don't think they've done themselves any good by it. There's the poor old teachers and the nurses and people like that ... I'd rather see everybody getting it or none. People are looking :" Oh God look at these police here, they're getting four rises when I'm getting one*" (Fielding, 1988)

Sensitivity to the difference between a police officer's income and those of former class mates is important to maintenance of a stable life in and outside work. Fielding cites the example of a young recruit who drank halves when in the pub with his mates since that was the most that they could afford to buy and he did not wish to appear to boast of his own affluence. Maintaining existing relationships is particularly hard for women police officers; although this is a problem anticipated by many officers on joining, the reality of shiftwork and the change in status associated with becoming a police officer seems to cause more problems for women than for men (Jones, 1986). Part of this lies in the perception of appropriate female gender role behaviour; while men joining the police force may be seen as crossing one social divide, women are crossing two, since not only are they moving away from previous close relationships but are, in addition, working in a non-feminine job (Kennedy and Homant 1981; Remmington, 1983; Jones, 1986).

Many police officers build up new relationships within the force (Fielding, 1988) but here too women face particular problems since the double bind comes into operation - a real police officer goes out with the lads (Balkin, 1988; Fielding, 1988) but she must also remain a lady or get herself a bad reputation (Martin, 1979; Jones, 1986; Berg and Budnick, 1986).

"*The more rank you get, the more difference it makes to your personal life. People will start rumours about you if you're female whatever you do. If I had done half the things I'm supposed to have done , I'd certainly have enjoyed myself.*" (Graef, 1989).

"*When I was first in the job I used to tell people in nightclubs and pubs what I did for a living. They'd say, 'Oh I'm just going to buy myself a drink'. That's it , gone for good.*" (Graef, 1989).

Certainly policewomen can face problems in their professional relationships with male colleagues, whether these relationships are not sufficiently friendly (Graef, 1989), too friendly (Fielding, 1988) or completely neutral (de Launay vs Metropolitan Police, reported in The Times, 20th. December, 1983). They are often isolated from non-police friends and treated as an outsider within the police fraternity, according to Jones (1986), and policewomen occasionally resort to using their femininity as a means of access to a social life (Martin, 1979). This itself can bring condemnation, as women are then open to criticism for being too "easy" or sexually available, even when their behaviour is no more than social interaction with colleagues which is normal, and acceptable, in male officers.

In spite of the problems of acceptance into the (male) police occupational culture and of their isolation from previous social contacts, very few female officers cite this as a reason for leaving the force. In fact, fewer women than men cite a mismatch between expectations and reality as being a prime cause of leaving (Jones, 1986) and most women leave the job either for 'traditional' female reasons (starting a family, getting married, (Jones, 1986)) or because they have used the police service as a means of access, through experience or training, to another job (Cross, 1977).

Images of Policewomen

A number of studies have found that policewomen tend to see themselves primarily as police officers while policemen and the public tend to view them as women (Singer and Singer 1985; Balkin, 1988; Walklate, 1992). There is a considerable body of research into the attitudes of those who are not policewomen about policewomen; however there seems to be no single consistent trend of opinion.

Attitudes of the public

Since policing is very much an occupation where interaction with the public is an everyday experience the attitudes of the public can be expected to have an important influence on the way policewomen feel about themselves in their work. As has already been noted, there is a general feeling that the public are unappreciative of, if not overtly hostile to, the police. Generally, studies of working women have found a more negative attitude towards them than towards men, especially when they are working in perceived 'masculine' occupations (Koenig and Juni, 1981) although this attitude appears to be a function of the specific job and the educational level of the subject doing the evaluation (Mischel, 1974). However recent research suggests that public attitudes towards policewomen can be positive, although Homant (1983) suggested that the presence of policewomen in a local force, while making the public less likely to view the police as aggressive, led to generally more negative attitudes towards the police. Sherman (1975) reported that the public viewed female officers as being more sympathetic and compassionate than male counterparts and believed them to be better able to handle domestic disputes and patrol calls than were male officers. Kerber *et al.* (1977) reported that men were viewed as being more capable of patrol duties while women were seen as better at handling child abuse and rape cases. These latter responsibilities were those seen to be the province of female officers in the U.K. prior to the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. Kennedy and Homant (1981) reported that female officers were seen as more assertive and active than were male officers; this would be consistent with the finding, reported above, that women join the police force because it gives them the opportunity for work outside the traditional female role and that they would be more likely to take any opportunity to engage in the type of behaviour they saw as consonant with this goal. Koenig and Juni (1981) found that women judged policewomen more favourably than policemen although there were no

differences between male judgements of policemen and policewomen. This is consistent with findings of Jones (1986) that women generally would prefer to see more female officers on the beat. Singer and Singer (1985) also found that although overall perceptions of police officers by the public showed no significant differences in perceptions of males and females, female respondents saw female officers as significantly faster, stronger and more effective than did male respondents. However they found inconsistencies between male and female subjects in their interpretation of the concepts of 'effective' and 'fast'. Male subjects were more likely than female subjects to differentiate between males and females, being more likely to rate female police officers poorly.

Snortum and Beyers (1983) investigated the performance of new recruits in the light of public beliefs about the differences in work style and performance between the sexes. They were particularly interested in the dynamics of relationships between male and female officers over time, and in the effect that mixed and single-sex partnerships during training had on current and later performance and on the perceptions of other officers. One explanation proposed for their findings was that perceived adequacies and inadequacies in female officers had more to do with ideological factors than with performance criteria.

It has also been suggested that partnering males with females in early training leads to the male trainees partnered being more likely to perceive female officers as inadequate (Vega and Silverman 1982). They found that policewomen were consistently assigned to certain types of duty, being more likely to be assigned to prisoner searches (women conducted 74.4% of searches), to rapes (38%), and to cases involving children (36.9%), although performing only 16.1% of logged duty time. They were less likely than men to be sent to 'high risk' situations. Although their allocated specialisms were different, they were rated by the public as being equally competent in their performance of general duties as men. Nevertheless male trainees felt that they were more competent and better developed as officers than female counterparts.

Overall these findings suggest that women police are less likely to be respected by men civilians than by women and that women are likely to be

more favourable towards women officers than to male officers. Nevertheless they do suggest that female police officers are likely to be respected by the public and that that public, while viewing policewomen's performance as being 'best' in the traditional female areas (rape counselling, child cases), do not see them as not being 'proper' police officers. One point to note is that a study reported by Johns (1979) of the attitudes of criminal justice students in the USA towards police officers, found a high level of hostility towards policewomen and a general denigration of their role as effective law enforcers. Coming from the future administrators of, and practitioners in, the legal system this is possibly more potentially damaging to policewomen's confidence in themselves than any critical comment from the general public. Issues relating to the attitudes of other professionals within the legal system towards policewomen are further explored in chapter 7.

Male officers attitudes towards female officers

If the challenge to women as 'proper' police officers does not come from the public it is certainly manifested in the views of their male colleagues. As Balkin (1988) says, "*If a policeman's lot is not a happy one , then a policewoman's lot is a lot worse, for she is not accepted by most of her male colleagues.*" Sherman (1975) reported finding that public views of policewomen were favourable; however the attitudes of their male colleagues were generally unfavourable, specific complaints focusing on perceived inadequacies in their engagement with preventive activities when on patrol and an increased likelihood of policewomen being involved in traffic accidents while on patrol. Sherman's conclusion was clear; women are capable of doing the job of policing in all settings and the only research required of the police service was to identify the criteria for a good police officer - and gender would not be one of them.

Other studies (Ayoob, 1978; Snortum and Beyers, 1983) have reported similar findings; women were capable of effective police work but faced a lack of confidence in their performance from male colleagues. This sapped the women's confidence and led to feelings of self-doubt. In fact I could only find one study in which the findings were that women were less good than male officers (Horne, 1980). In this study it was found that although women

were perceived as being as competent as men in making arrests, and better at dealing with domestic disturbances and at gun handling, they were less good at projecting strength and power and were perceived to be less effective in conducting searches of buildings; on the basis of these findings it was concluded that women were less good at policework than were men. It should be noted that this research was commissioned by the Philadelphia Police Department as the basis for a defence against a court action for sex discrimination and that they lost the court case.

In spite of any objective assessment of policewomen's performance, a wealth of evidence exists that policemen's attitudes towards female colleagues are often very negative. Where these attitudes are made explicit they serve to undermine women's evaluation of their own competence. Gross (1984) cites the comment of a woman recruit in Florida: *"I'm proud of what I am doing, but when the guys put female officers down I find myself laughing with them. Then I feel like a traitor to myself and my sex".*

Conrad and Glorioso (1975) reported finding the following negative attitudes of policemen towards female colleagues:

> Feelings of territoriality and reluctance to admit women to their "club".
>
> Worries that their wives/girlfriends might be jealous
>
> Concern that women officers might not be able to defend themselves
>
> Sister-syndrome - feelings that the men would have to protect the women
>
> General feelings of threat from women taking "men's" jobs
>
> Worries about morale - women would not take the job seriously as a career because they would be looking to get married and this would lower the morale of the men

Conrad and Glorioso suggested such feelings might be challenged by using group meetings between male and female officers and more joint patrols to encourage both men and women to alleviate their anxieties; since Jones (1986) and others have found similar attitudes prevailing ten years after Conrad and Glorioso's study, and after a period of widespread deployment of female officers alongside males, it might reasonably be concluded that mere

experience of working with women is not enough to overcome the prejudices of policemen.

Beliefs that women's work in the police force is best confined to "womanly" duties are prevalent:

"If a baby is brought to the station with a drunk woman , they all start wailing for a WPC to come and look after it. I can't think of anything that annoys me more because I know nothing about kids. But they say, "Woman's instinct.." Some bloke walks past and all he'll say is, "Can't you stop it crying? It wants its nappy changed". They know, because they have got kids of their own. I really dislike children" (WPC quoted in Graef, 1989)

Kelland (1987) noted that women were segregated in the police both vertically (in the sense of their absence from senior positions) and horizontally through being assigned different work to that assigned to male officers. She noted that women were more likely than were men to be involved in "women's work", such as taking rape statements and dealing with children. She also commented that such work was seen by male officers to be easy and relatively undemanding, although, as can be seen from the comments of serving officers in this study (chapter 7) such cases require a great deal of skill and rigour on the part on an investigating officer.

The reasons most commonly given by policemen for disliking policewomen have their origins in their beliefs that women are physically (Vega and Silverman, 1982; Linden, 1983) and emotionally (Bell, 1982) unsuited to policework. Policemen often see policework as involving control through authority (Sherman, 1973) and feel that this requires physical abilities and personality traits which are essentially masculine (Balkin, 1988). Strength, courage and authority are male characteristics and work involving them is seen as appropriate for men only and according to Balkin this is why policework is seen as a job for men. However, as Bell (1982) commented, no research has been published showing that ability to handle dangerous situations is related to strength. In spite of this, both men and women have expressed preferences for male partners on patrol, usually citing physical factors as a reason, although this preference is weaker among females (Marshall, 1973). His interviewees perceived women as

taking more sick leave and being generally less healthy and less able to handle stress than male officers. He also noted that although men had more accidents in police cars fewer policewomen passed the driving test. He did not state whether there was a difference in the proportion of women and men *taking* the driving test. Bloch, Anderson and Gervais (1973) noted that black officers were more favourable and less stereotyped in their views on policewomen than were their white male colleagues. Remmington (1983) commented that although generally her study supported the findings of others that experience of patrolling with women led to a lessening of regard for women police officers, where male officers got to know their female partners well they became more positive in their evaluation of female officers. She encountered familiar views on "authority figures"

"*When you're a victim of crime you want an authority figure and people are leery of females*" (male DC age 31)

and on the "emotionality" of women,

"*Most of the ones I've met try to do a good job but they don't belong on the street. Most, because of their emotional background, are too unstable*" (male PC age 23)

Often female officers responded to male harassment by playing an "apprentice" role to diffuse potential conflict (Nieva and Gutek, 1981). Under-achievement and acceptance of distorting roles have been theorised as possible concomitants to token status in other male-dominated fields such as higher education, medicine, the legal professions and management (Kanter 1979). Remmington cited an incident in which a female officer was called to a disturbance which she speedily handled on arrival, calming down the parties involved. The incident flared up again a short while later; this time the female officer arrived several minutes after several male officers who were chasing suspects around. The situation was described as being tense and chaotic. A male officer pushed an individual into the policewoman's car and directed her to take the suspect away. In spite of the fact that the situation was being handled badly, and that the other officers were not senior to her, she accepted the instructions, venting her frustration in verbal hostility to the prisoner.

Fielding (1988) commented that at induction of new officers, 82% of recruits saw the village bobby and the woman police constable as the most similar

out of a triad of those two types of officer and a CID officer. Reasons given ranged from "same job" to "involved with the general public"; those who chose the bobby and the CID officer as most similar gave as reasons for so doing "experience". After a year, 23% of the recruits chose the village bobby and the CID officer as being most similar; reasons given centred on women police constables "inability to deal with anything other than routine work or with women and children". A year's experience made male officers more accepting of female colleagues than new recruits but only in terms of a better appreciation of their value in their traditional stereotypical roles, thus

"they've got an advantage in as much as it's very embarrassing for a man when he's out with his mates to get arrested by a woman and that's one aspect where it can be to their advantage... for Friday and Saturday nights I'd sooner have a fella stood next to me..' (Fielding, 1988)

and the police service abounds with compliments paid to women's excellent skills in clerical and coordinating roles.

One of the problems policewomen face in dealing with male colleagues is that, not unnaturally, policemen are not immune to popular beliefs about appropriate sex-role behaviour. A man who believes that women should not go out alone late at night is not likely to change that opinion because the woman in question is wearing a police uniform. There is also an effect of unconscious values, such as the belief that women who are out alone at night are almost deserving of their fate by virtue of their disregard for social rules. Cain (1973) said that for the police officer, all women could be seen as either respectable or rough; policewomen cross the category divide.

Although many policewomen do end up marrying policemen (Jones, 1986; Graff, 1989) this is in part a consequence of the isolated social life they lead; there is no evidence that women join only to find a husband, as is alleged by some male officers according to Fielding (1988) although such behaviour would fit in with a view of policewomen as "rough" (Cain 1973). In fact Jones (1986) noted that in her sample, a higher proportion of women than men were unmarried, even in the 25-34 year age group, where the length of service would have been long enough for any "husband-seeker" to have found a man (and which is the 'prime' age-group for marriage). This might simply reflect the fact, or belief, that continuing a career in the police after

marriage is more difficult for a woman than for a man, which could lead to proportionately more women than men leaving after marriage; however it does not give support to the idea of the police force as a marriage agency for women.

Jones (1986) recorded that there was a degree of animosity expressed by male officers towards females whom they perceive to be being given an easy ride (even when such is against the policewoman's wishes), especially when that involved avoiding unpleasant tasks like carrying dead bodies or doing dirty jobs like searching rubbish tips. However policewomen complain that they are not allocated duties which they see as part of the job. Jones reported an instance of a policewoman who, in spite of having passed the police driving test, was only occasionally allocated to panda patrol duties and then only for the odd hour; she eventually obtained a transfer to traffic division. Similarly, an overly traditional view of what was a "proper" job for a woman led to women in Jones' study being barred from the vice squad. This was commented on by several of the women in her sample, the most common view being that the vice squad was the one department in which it would be logical for them to work, since the work involved both prostitution and missing persons (the "responsibility" of the former Policewomen's Department). The policewomen interviewed by Jones did not feel the need to be protected from the seedier side of life, even though they recognised the benevolent intent which lay, in part at least, behind their exclusion. Similarly a policewoman had not been grateful (Jones, 1986) when she was rejected for the dog section on the grounds, expressed by the male superintendent, that it would be too physical and would involve her in difficult and nasty duties (tracking criminals on many kinds of terrain). In general, the view Jones found to be prevalent among male officers was that while there are some areas of policing in which women were particularly competent, women were unsuited for many duties required of police officers; this was the prevalent opinion of male officers found also by Martin (1979) and Nieva and Gutek (1981).

These notions have their origins in particular beliefs about policework - that it requires a physical presence, brute strength and courage which women do not possess - and also about appropriate behaviours and abilities of women. Such beliefs tend to follow rigidly traditional patterns. To some

extent, men have a view of policewomen (in general) which is of them being either wimps or harridans (Remmington, 1983) although according to her they also describe specific individual policewomen who do not conform to either polarity of the wimp-harridan scale.

Female officers' attitudes to female officers

van Wormer (1981) suggests that, far from women being unsuited to police work, they are by virtue of their gender socialisation experiences and their work styles, more suited than men for a career in policing. She suggested that, in the light of what was deemed to constitute good police practice, female characteristics are more appropriate; men are more aggressive and more likely to exacerbate a difficult situation, men are more likely to be involved in fights and in car crashes which have poor public relations effects, and are believed (Block and Anderson, 1970) not to relate well to the public. In addition men are more physically brutal (Block and Anderson, 1973; Sherman, 1973;) and are reluctant to share power, which can be destructive of good inter-police and community relations. Men will not take advice from female colleagues (Sichel, Friedman, Quint and Smith, 1978). Women recruits are better educated and hence likely to be less authoritarian (Horne, 1974) and to write better reports (Radelet and Reed, 1977). Morash and Greene (1986) reported that certain jobs such as rape questioning are perceived to be best done by women and most women would prefer, in circumstances of rape, to have their statements taken by a female officer.

Women have not cited van Wormer's work as justification for the recruitment of more policewomen; they do have, however, strong views about their suitability for policework and about the reasons given by male officers for trying to exclude them. Lehtinen (1976) reported that women police officers felt that only 1% of policework could be considered physically "at the limit" for them; similarly, Charles (1981) has suggested that although on entry to training centres many women perceived themselves to be less fit than their male counterparts, they were aware that after some years service many policemen became unfit and overweight and the policewomen felt that therefore their own lack of strength and fitness on entry was irrelevant when making male /female comparisons, even if

they accepted, which not all did, that fitness and strength were vital to the job.

Policewomen tend to reject arguments for their acceptance into police service which are based on the novelty value of female police officers; Balkin (1988) implies that policewomen would not be happy with Melchionne's (1967) proposition that "*Most people don't expect a woman to be a cop. Who would suspect the woman pushing a baby carriage?*" although the value of policewomen in undercover work in tracing drug dealers and rapists and murderers (Lucas, 1986) is acknowledged to be in part attributable to the fact that women are less likely than men to be suspected of being a police officer. Indeed policewomen see this as a legitimate, if very dangerous, part of their duties; some are aware of (and amused by) the contradiction between the public images of policewomen as 12-stone harridans and newspaper reports of them as, for example, "blonde beauties" as in a newspaper report following a successful undercover drugs operation (South Wales Echo February 9th. 1989). Policewomen expressed disappointment that they were too often given the 'women's' jobs which they felt untrained to handle and which they found particularly stressful. The most obvious examples of these are being asked to give death messages to relatives, dealing with rape victims and dealing with children. (There is however a sizeable proportion of women officers who would like to train to deal specifically with rape victims ; this is discussed in chapters 6 and 7). Jones (1986) quotes a WPC who commented:
"*So to stick us in with a victim and say "Right, take a rape statement off her" is just as unfair as sticking a bloke in because we didn't have any specialist training , why should we be any better than what they could do....they say, "You're a woman, you should be able to do it*"

A common complaint (discussed further in chapter 7) is that when taken off a case to do an interview or to take a statement, no allowance is given in terms of relieving the policewoman of other duties (Jones, 1986; Martin, 1979; Fielding, 1988); thus a policewoman is subjected to double stress, from overloading of work (Caplan, Cobb, French, Harrison and Pinneau, 1975) and from the cognitive demands made on them through dealing with emotionally demanding cases which they perceive themselves to be ill-equipped to handle. This might be why, as reported earlier in this chapter,

women are perceived to take more time off work for reasons of ill health than are male officers; certainly during the course of this study several interviewees were, or had recently been, on sick leave for several weeks. However Davis (1984) in a study of policewomen in Texas and Oklahoma found that women were less likely to report stress than were men. For both men and women officers the report of stress is against the occupation's cultural values (Davis, 1984); generally in Western societies the experience of physical ill-health is more acceptable than that of mental ill-health and it is possible that both male and female officers exhibit or report physical symptoms when suffering from stress. Steptoe (1989) reports a variety of illnesses (from backache to ulcers) which are precipitated by stress and Rambo (1983) suggests that doctors frequently issue medical certificates giving details of a physical illness when, in fact, a stress-related complex has been identified. Although women officers report finding the extra burden of work placed on them stressful, there is no evidence that they are more stressed than are males by everyday police duties. Women do however report problems in two areas linked to male behaviour; dealing with the negative attitudes of men to their job performance (Martin, 1979; Remmington, 1983; Lidgard, 1988) and dealing with specific acts of harassment (Jones, 1986; Graef, 1989) and undermining of their activities in public (Bell, 1982).

The identity of policewomen

Like many working women, policewomen also experience conflict between their work and social/family activities. Martin (1979) suggested that women entering occupations from which they have previously been excluded are treated as tokens and that as a result they face a series of role conflicts, occupational pressures and personal choices relating to these. Martin identified salient factors relating to the conflict of identity facing women in police work. However, a possible weakness in her account lies in her dichotomisation of the responses available to policewomen, leaving no opportunity for synthesis nor for agency. She noted that minorities are treated by majorities in work groups in terms of the qualities which make them "different" rather than those which they have in common. Hence, she suggested, women are viewed in terms of their womanly qualities rather than their qualities as police officers. In this she reiterated the

views of Kanter (1977) who suggested that dominants distort and exaggerate the attributes of tokens to fit their beliefs about the minorities' social type and that this can lead to minorities being trapped in stereotypical roles. This makes them very visible and leads to further over-simplification of their behaviour.

Martin used Hochschild's (1973) classification of token women into the categories of "defeminised" and "deprofessionalised" in her account of the career paths and work styles of women officers. Martin saw policewomen as responding to the role conflicts inherent in their position through the adoption of an occupational identity (in work practice and in work relationships) which she terms *police*woman or police*women*. These represent the opposite poles of a continuum and while Martin did not claim that all women are located at one or the other end she did view their position on the continuum, once selected, as fixed for the career duration, since the adoption of positions produced behaviour which reinforced that position. For example, if a woman adopts a "little girl" approach to conflict then, within this model, that approach will elicit "little girl" responses and rewards for "little girl" behaviour . *Police*women, according to Martin, strive primarily to stick to the norms of behaviour governing police officers, placing a strong emphasis on assertiveness, loyalty to the force and achievement. They also typically disparage other female officers, as in the comment of one *police*woman that "*...some women think what they sit on is worth a million dollars. This is immature, all they (men) care about is that you do your job*" (Martin, 1979).

In order to gain acceptance, these female officers also, according to Martin, embraced the (male) norms of the department in terms of enforcement behaviour and general values. Martin reported her subjects volunteering to do 'macho' things to show themselves to be as tough as men, such as volunteering to go to an autopsy for a case in which the woman officer had not been involved nor requested. *Police*women rejected the protection of men and often discouraged it by being "extra tough and independent". These women recognised that to be accepted as a police officer they had to be better than the men and to try harder in demonstrating comradeship, reliability and courage. The positive side of Martin's *police*women is that they recognised discrimination when directed against them as individuals

(although not recognising attitudes to all policewomen as being discriminatory) and took positive action to reduce it, through the adoption of police norms of behaviour. The negative side (in terms of their own personal development as women and in terms of the experiences of other women) is that in so doing they devalued other women and blamed the female officers themselves for problems they encountered,

"Many of the women are flighty and interested only in dating. Many don't seem aggressive enough.. I can see why men dislike women on the street" (Martin, 1979)

Other policewomen explicitly stated that if a woman had problems it was usually because she "asked for them" as a consequence of her own behaviour. Martin also noted that *police*women were hostile to the establishment of a policewomen's organisation to monitor and combat discrimination. This group were adamant that there could be no overlap between gender identity outside work and their behaviour as police officers; all felt that the fact that they were female in no way affected their occupational identity.

At the other end of the scale were those Martin called police*women*. This includes women whom Martin described as:

"*A group which includes both apathetic officers who are disinterested in their work except as a source of income and those who behave in a traditionally feminine manner*".

Martin did not specify what is implied by a typically feminine manner - nor did she mention the existence of some men who see work as a source of income, although evidence exists that agency through income is a source of satisfaction for both men and women (Fryer, 1986).

She also categorised as police*women* those women engaged with their work but who struggled with discrimination as a consequence of their own lack of assertiveness and their desire to remain "ladies" on the job as well as off. She described this group as being reluctant to control public behaviour and preferring a service-oriented view of policing.

Martin noted that one indicator of how an occupational role is conceptualised by a worker is the aspect of work identified by the worker as the source of greatest satisfaction. In Martin's police*women* group 15% of subjects could not name a particular source of work satisfaction. When prompted, most named service activities, or situations in which they had coped but had expected not to do so, as, for example, catching a burglar red-handed. Like *police*women they resented the discrimination they encountered, but did not, according to Martin, do anything about it other than complain about lack of access to patrol cars and to specialist jobs. They were content to acquiesce to the stereotypical roles to which they were assigned, acting as 'mother' to the station, doing 'womanly' work, and staying away from hazardous or physically tiring assignments and they criticised *police*women for being mannish, for swearing and for forgetting their femininity.

Martin's study is one of only a few longitudinal research programmes which have seriously attempted to understand the position of women within the police service, through observation, interview and questionnaire. Martin appears to be more sympathetic to the *police*women than to the police*women* in her sample. Since her work was addressed largely at the specific experiences of women entering a 'male' occupation, she has dealt in less detail with explanations relating to any conflict between gender identity in and out of work. Her interpretation draws mainly on agentic views of occupational identity development for minorities and she may therefore not fully explore possible structural constraints over identity development. Nonetheless this approach (i.e. looking at what is, rather than at how it came into being) has been a significant feature in accounts of occupational identity development for women police officers.

Remmington (1983) described the way in which policewomen assume the values of male colleagues, such as mistrust of the public and terse, abrupt behaviour, and at the same time attempt to emulate them. This , she suggests, provides an insight into the conflicts which are experienced by women in everyday police-work. However, she does not enter a discussion of theoretical explanations of the nature of the tensions established nor the means of their potential resolution.

One noteworthy point is that Remmington encountered no-one who seemed to fit Martin's *police*woman category (Remmington's study was conducted over a period of one year, a shorter time-scale than Martin's) although one was mentioned by several different male officers whom she interviewed. This woman was described by male officers as a real police officer; she roughed up suspects and was physically strong, but rather than responding to her as being "like them", the policemen expressed reservations about her, including doubts as to her sexuality. Remmington interpreted her female subjects' behaviours as being affected by the men's behaviour and negative attitudes to policewomen. One woman she interviewed was considering leaving the police service, because she could take no more of the sexual teasing and the lack of any serious content in her interaction with male colleagues. Where women felt they did not have the physical strength to emulate male colleagues, Remmington found, they adopted alternative strategies in situations where strength might be of use, as, for example, in using deception to get a drunk into a police car. However, neither males nor females valued such strategies and the women exhibited self-doubt and lack of assurance in daily work. This was expressed most clearly in the fact that no female expressed a preference for a female work partner. They preferred men, either because they were physically stronger or because it was easier to achieve a rapport with them. As in Martin's study, Remmington reported several of her women subjects describing other women as catty and denigrating towards them.

This alienation of women towards other women is typical of tokens (Kanter, 1977), who in order to be accepted by the majority, must pay the price of turning against their own kind even if that involves making jokes and disparaging comments about close female colleagues and friends. The net result is a spiral of lack of confidence; males frequently expressed lack of trust in women which led to the women doubting themselves, exhibiting those doubts behaviourally and being further reinforced in their doubts by the behaviour of male colleagues. Overall, Remmington concluded that the status of women entering hitherto male occupations would always be diminished, through their being treated as sex objects, inferiors or incompetents, in the absence of a genuine desire for change at all levels of the organisation. She argued that numerical equivalence would reduce the tokenism of women officers and would change the ideological structure

of the police. Remmington's interpretation contrasts with Martin's; while Martin saw her women as free agents, having the choice to enter into their preferred role and therefore being open to criticism for not being sufficiently independent, Remmington's policewomen are reminiscent of post-structuralist notions of the constitution of the subject, with little or no agency and tending to walk through discourses and adopt identities defined from within each discourse.

Berg and Budnick (1986) noted, in their subjects, the defeminisation of policewomen which Martin observed, although they gave different explanations of both cause and effect. Martin (1979, 1980) explained her *police*women as people who had consciously rejected the labelling of themselves as feminine and hence rejected gender identification. Berg and Budnick suggested that women do not reject a female identity; rather they adopt strategies for getting on in their work which may include adopting overtly masculine activity. The experience of training identified standardised behaviours for women which initially caused them conflict since they had to decide whether to accept the traditional subordinate role of women or to move outside that role (and open up their career opportunities) and thus assuming male behaviours. Hence, for Berg and Budnick, defeminisation is a conscious career decision rather than a rejection of femininity.

Wexler (1985) proposed that women adopt a mixture of work-styles when entering the police force. She identified four role-styles each of which reflected a lesser or greater degree of defeminisation. The four styles were neutral-impersonal, semi-masculine, feminine and mixed. Each placed different amounts of emphasis on the usefulness of 'male' and 'female' characteristics in successful policing. Like Berg and Budnick, Wexler viewed work style as being contingent on job demands rather than a reflection of enduring personality traits. Those women who wanted men to accept them as equals adopted neutral-impersonal or mixed styles. Those who desired to minimise stress adopted a feminine style; those who adopted a semi-masculine style did not expect to accepted as equals but expected that in adopting quasi-male behaviour they would be more acceptable. Although some styles were viewed as being more useful to effective

policing than others, none was seen by the women as being wholly inappropriate or wrong.

Hernandez (1982) studied perceived masculinity and femininity in women police officers in investigating the acceptability to male officers of the different styles of policing, and their perceptions of appropriate work for each type. He used four female officers of "equal but different attractiveness" to yield four experimental condition categories. Male officers were given photographs and biographies of one of the women and asked to say how likely they were to enjoy working with that woman and what specialism would be appropriate for her. The four experimental conditions were feminine-competent, feminine-incompetent, masculine-competent and masculine-incompetent. Each female was used in all four biography conditions. Hernandez found that males preferred to work with feminine-competents but expressed greatest tolerance for feminine-incompetents as long as they were given clerical rather than patrol work. It is, however, difficult to see how the "equal but different attractiveness" criterion was controlled for in this study and hence any conclusions drawn must be tentative.

The idea that appropriate occupational identity is contingent rather than absolute receives support from a study reported by Brana-Shute (1981). He studied the roles played by professional policewomen in Suriname. Although they were responsible for a wide range of formal police duties, they carried these out in the context of powerful culturally-ascribed gender roles and hence their style of work performance was very similar to those adopted in performing female roles in the household and in domestic behaviour. Thus their professional role was an expansion of their traditional sex-role. Brana-Shute called them "Mothers in Uniform".

Lidgard (1988) reiterated the view that until women move away from token status in the police service they will be constrained in their behaviour by the need to be accepted by the majority group. She noted that attempts to educate for equality have failed; it is perhaps hardly surprising that training sessions fail to overcome values which are part of a wider world than that of police culture. Byrne (1988) has contended that there is a critical mass (about 30% of employees) which tokens must reach before

they stop being viewed as different and extraordinary. This would imply that it is almost impossible to achieve change by working only within an organisation since while women were in the minority they would be modified to survive in the organisation rather than the organisation being changed to make it more likely that women would be recruited and be successful.

Not all researchers report negative feelings among women officers as a consequence of male police criticisms of their behaviour and personal qualities. Homant and Kennedy (1985) investigated male and female police officer's methods of handling domestic violence incidence and the officers' evaluation of their performance. They noted significant differences between male and female officers in both their evaluations of situations and their responses; women were less accepting of the idea that violence was inevitable in marriage and felt more personally involved in disputes and felt more strongly than did males that part of the police role was to show sympathy with the disputing parties. They also felt more strongly than did males that police officers played a useful part in reducing tensions between couples. This disparity of opinion was matched with a disparity of perceptions of behaviours; policewomen felt that they handled domestic violence cases differently to men and that they were more successful than men in diffusing tension. Policemen felt that policewomen did *not* act differently to policemen but that they were less successful in dealing with the case. The reasons given for women's perceived lack of success were couched in terms of traditional female behaviour - too slow, too emotional, too talkative. The female officers were aware that they were evaluated negatively but far from incorporating these views they rejected them, making comments about their work style which suggested a very positive self-concept in the context of occupational identity. For instance:
"*...female officers are more able to mediate and understand both sides, rather than ending up making it a challenge between themselves and one of the combatants as some male officers do*".

To summarise, it appears that a major problem faced by women in the police force as a minority establishing an identity for themselves is the constant disparagement they face from male colleagues which is integrated cognitively and behaviourally into their conception of themselves as police

officers and in which their sex may be either of major or marginal significance.

Problems of women working in male-dominated jobs

One problem faced by all working women is that they occupy two roles, those of worker and of female in the family, and are required to perform adequately in both. For single women this means less than for married women; nevertheless single women are less likely than men to have mothers or landladies who are prepared to cook, wash and clean for them and their social behaviour is constrained differently to that of men by appropriate sex-role activities. For example, on entry to the police recruits are sent on residential courses at Police Training centres, of about three months duration. It is more acceptable for the man to come home to a girlfriend after a three month absence than it is for a woman to return to her boyfriend. It is, however, for married women that most problems arise. The police service does at least pay employees reasonable salaries, so that they are in a better position than many women to pay for child-care, although the costs still represent a large proportion of a policewoman's pay. A more pressing problem is in having such care arrangements sufficiently flexible to cope with changing shift patterns and with unexpected overtime. Jones (1986) cited the instance of a woman officer in the Metropolitan Police whose (somewhat expensive) solution to her childcare problems was to move to a larger house so she could employ a live-in nanny. Greater opportunity for part-time work might reduce the wastage rate for policewomen since many leave because they are unable to manage full-time shift-work and being a competent parent. Jones reported that women are expected to leave the force once they marry; because so many marry policemen, if the couple are not working the same shifts they get little chance of any time together. However the expectation of leaving is so great that once a woman gets married, Jones reported, she will be asked regularly when she intends to leave.

This is not a problem unique to policewomen. Fogarty, Allen and Walters (1981) report that a number of women in the higher Civil Service face barriers to their career because of assumptions made about the likelihood of them leaving; they also face problems if seeking part-time work after having children. Their frustration is compounded by the knowledge that

the civil service claims to encourage opportunities for part-time work. The usual barrier faced by senior civil servants is the claim that part-time workers would not be available when needed for ministerial consultation. However as Brimelow (1981) points out:

"*Senior men(sic) are not available in this way. They are extremely busy people with full diaries. They spend a great deal of time in meetings, often away from their offices or in Brussels. What is the practical difference between a male assistant secretary who is at a meeting in Brussels or Manchester, or a nationalised industry headquarters somewhere else in London and a female one who is at home with her children?*"

Walters (1987) stated that most women are expected to conform to masculine norms in the pursuit of their careers; no allowance is made for different career patterns of women. She also suggested that in male-dominated work men and women are assessed differentially for promotion, with men being assumed competent unless proved otherwise while women are assumed incompetent unless they can demonstrate their abilities. Spencer and Podmore (1983) identified ten factors which they saw as contributing to the marginalisation of women in male-dominated jobs. They are very similar to those identified in this chapter as being sources of problems for policewomen. They are:

1. Stereotypes about women eg emotional , unstable, indecisive.
2. Stereotypes about the nature of the job eg that it is physically demanding.
3. The sponsorship system - the need for someone to 'push along' another's career.
4. Lack of role models and peers.
5. Exclusion from informal activities.
6. The concept of "commitment" as being exemplified by full-time commitment from 18 (or thereabouts) to 65 .
7. The unplanned nature of women's careers as opposed to men's - the presence of gaps and hiatuses in women's careers.
8. The view of many superiors that there is such a thing as "women's work" usually involving caring.
9. Claims that the client/the public will not accept a woman worker.
10. Fear that women will work for less pay or in some way lower the status of the profession.

Thus the marginalisation of women within work is affected by socialisation into gender roles outside work. Davies and Rosser (1986) have studied the accuracy of stereotyped ideas about women's career commitment. One of the most commonly cited reasons for women failing in careers is that they are reluctant to put career before domestic commitments. In their study of N.H.S. administrators they noted that women often take work home, work late, come in to work on days off or during sick leave and take on volumes of work which would be outside the capabilities of someone working full-time let alone someone doing a twenty hour week. These women are given lots of approval, being described as "worth her weight in gold" and "indispensable", yet when they ask for promotion or adequate overtime payment these are refused. One of the problems for women which Rosser and Davies identified is that in N.H.S. administration there are two grades, one for high-fliers and one for the rest. In practice this means that women are classified *on entry* as "the rest" and there is little if any possibility for making a move into the higher grade. Once in post the women are often asked to work at the higher level with their consent being won by manipulation of their desire to 'help' and to 'be professional'.

The central problem facing anyone trying to understand the experiences of women working in "male jobs" is, suggested Legge (1987), that to consider the "problem" of women's careers is to take men as the norm against which women are judged. This itself involves an implicit subordination of women by using men as the standard by which to judge them. Hence one of the paradoxes of looking at discrimination against women or of using male/female comparative studies to understand the development of occupational identity in women is that it legitimises the peripheralisation of feminine traits and the focusing of attention on the level of adequacy with which women use male work styles.

The Police Personality

If the experience of women in other "male" occupations mirrors those of policewomen in many respects, in one important respect there is no parallel; in no other occupation, however clearly identified as male, is there such a clear-cut specification of the working "personality". Brown and Willis (1985) contend that the question is not of whether or not a

police "personality" exists but whether that personality is a product of socialisation within the police occupational culture or whether policing attracts a particular personality type. This they call the importation vs. socialisation hypothesis. They suggest that the ideology operating within an individual force might affect the police personality of its members. They used a comparison with firemen matched for education and social class and administered the F scale (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford, 1950) which measures authoritarianism. They found little difference in F scores for new recruits suggesting that the importation hypothesis did not hold good. This supports the findings of other studies which indicate that the police does not attract a particularly aggressive, authoritarian or conservative type of person (Niederhoffer, 1967; Smith *et. al.* 1968, 1970). The idea that the police service is the natural dumping ground for authoritarian types was, Brown and Willis suggested, misplaced. However they did find support for the socialisation hypothesis; during training the F-scores of recruits dropped (attributed by Brown and Willis to either the influence of instructors personalities or alternatively, that cloistered in training-centres away from the realities of police life recruits could afford the luxury of liberalism. Since the F-scale purports to measure a trait not a state it is hard to see how either of these arguments can be tenable). Once operational the socialisation process seemed to increase levels of authoritarianism, but this appeared to be affected by the type of area within the force which the recruit was policing. Recruits from a force which had a notoriously hard-line Chief Constable scored significantly higher on the F-scale than did recruits from a force with a more liberal Chief Constable.

Condor (1986) noted that at the time that the F-scale was first published it had been believed that it could also measure mysogyny and much research was organised around this idea. More recently Bowker (1981) has attempted to establish a causal link between the authoritarian personality and anti female attitudes.

It is accepted amongst officers that the police culture and experience hardens them. Graef (1989) illustrates this graphically with a comment from a young graduate who had left the Force after six years service. He said that he had been hardened by his experiences of policing

the 1984/5 miners strike to the point where he had become so hostile to the public and so callous about their problems that he had felt impelled to resign: *"It's like a lost innocence. Once you've lost it there isn't a path back... I came to the conclusion that for a lot of working-class men the hostility they express in a joking manner to the policeman as he walks past on Saturday night is probably very genuine and very well founded. Because after all, part of the role of the police force is to maintain order among groups where it may be a bit tenuous"*

Other researchers such as Kennedy and Homant (1981) question whether "the police personality" has any more tangible existence than as the stereotypical form of conventional folk wisdom. Although Brown (1986) holds that the goals and values associated with occupational roles *must* mould the personality, a view supported by, amongst others, Niederhoffer (1967) who saw authoritarianism in the police as pervasive and held that:
"authoritarianism develops after appointment as a result of socialisation and experience in the police social system"
there remains a considerable controversy regarding the existence of a police personality and numerous studies reach the conclusion that policing contains the same range of personality types as any other occupations.

Bennett and Greenstein (1975) compared police science students with a matched sample of students in other disciplines and found no difference between groups in the range or nature of personality types. Similarly Trojanowicz (1971) in a comparative study of police and social workers found no significant differences in personality and interaction style preferences although she did note that police were slightly less likely than social workers to respond to aggression with aggression. Tifft (1974) revealed that the personality types and expressed attitudes of policemen were no different to those found in a sample of the general public. Reiner (1978) suggested that the disparities found in policing styles challenge the notion that a solitary occupational culture produces a consistent personality type. Contradictory evidence to these findings, consistent with those of Brown and Willis above, shows the police as an homogeneous group differing from other occupational groups on various personality traits, mainly "undesirable" ones such as aggressiveness, prejudice and cynicism (Rokeach, Miller and Snyder 1971). Skolnick (1966) describes the working

personality of police officers in terms of a distinctive way of seeing the world, which itself is a consequence of the authority, danger and demand for efficiency inherent in the occupation. Danish and Brodsky (1970) argued that the danger inherent in policing results in a police personality of high risk-taking and a tendency to violence. This appears to reflect a conceptualisation of personality as being a state, and thus affected by contingencies, rather than an enduring trait. Miller (1973) analysed written and oral comments on criminal matters made by the police and found evidence which gave support to previous conclusions about tendencies to violence and which also suggested that the typical policeman was substantially right-wing in general views. The importance of understanding the nature of the police personality for comprehending the development of policewomen lies in the beliefs that the personality is acquired as a result of exposure to the experiences of policework and to the occupational culture of the police service, that the major characteristics are stereotypically masculine, and in the fact that, whether or not the acquisition of the typical personality is a prerequisite for effective policing and whether or not the characteristics are even common amongst police officers, the police are generally viewed as having these typical personality characteristics. If men define their situations as real, they are real in their consequences (Mead, 1934) and members of the police force are more likely than members of other occupations to encounter concern about their personality structure (Kennedy and Homant, 1981).

The literature on the personalities of policewomen is more scant than that on policemen and has tended to focus on the feminine/masculine aspects of their personalities in comparison with other women. This is consistent with the conventional wisdom about women in male occupations, that they are likely to be more masculine than the average woman (Spencer and Podmore, 1987). There is considerable evidence, however, that police women are not fully integrated into the police culture and since exposure to this culture is deemed by the researchers (cited above) to be a vital part of personality development, this is of relevance to understanding the development of policewomen. McGeorge and Wolfe (1976) report that the police subculture adheres to the importance of firmness and manly virtues, and that a general suspicion of outsiders generates a mistrust of the

new and strange especially where that "new and strange" is female and attempting to join police ranks.

The early impact of occupational culture is such that it can provide a perspective on experience even before a recruit gains direct experience. Thus although a new recruit may not be concerned initially about being female, discussion with police constables will quickly open her eyes to her own limitations and to the limits of her acceptability (Fielding, 1988). Although the policy of starting all new entrants on the same grade (constable) should provide a basis for solidarity, access to this resource seems likely to be more available to men than to women. One of the areas in which women miss out is participation in the social life which for many police officers revolves around other police officers (Fielding, 1988). This is less likely to be due to personality similarities than to be a pattern typical of shiftworkers (Rambo 1983), since shiftwork and unplanned overtime can be disruptive of social relationships with all but the most understanding friends. This aspect of the policewoman's experience is elaborated in chapter 7. Policewomen are faced with exclusion on two grounds; firstly they are not acceptable in a male-dominated social gathering where men often express feelings of restriction when women are present (Graef, 1989), and secondly while women are anxious to be equal with men and to show that they are "one of the lads" in drinking, buying rounds etc. (Fielding, 1988) they are very aware of laying in trouble for the future if they get a reputation for being too easy or not ladylike; in fact in leisure hours they are expected to be all the things they are not expected to be during work hours:

"*They think they invented sex, the canteen cowboys. There are women who get the names, the relief bicycles and so on. They say that every relief has got one but I wouldn't say so at all*" (Graef, 1989)

Sexual innuendo is the easiest form of damage to inflict and the hardest to refute and what is seen as a compliment to a man can be seen an insult to a woman. As a consequence, many policewomen avoid any risk to their reputations by restricting their social life to the "proper", activities in which there could be no risk of misunderstanding or associated damage to reputations.

Since the organisational culture marginalises women while at the same time making it explicit that the qualities required for effective policework are not those which most women possess, one would expect women to exhibit change in, amongst many other things, their working personality as they accommodate police norms. It has been theorised that policewomen, by virtue of their feminine qualities, would reduce the violent tendencies of their male colleagues, be more sympathetic to females, children and domestic disturbances, and would tend to receive more cooperation from the public (Sherman, 1973). Although there has been much hypothesising about the nature of the policewoman's personality, Berg and Budnick (1986) and Lidgard (1988) found little evidence in existence to support the idea that female recruits are noticeably different from the general population.

Lester, Gronau and Wondrack (1982) administered the Bem androgyny scale (Bem, 1974) to a group of female police officers nearing completion of training and to a control group of female students. They were also questioned about attitudes to rape. The overall androgyny score was significantly higher for the policewomen, showing them to see themselves as having masculine characteristics; in particular they rated themselves more highly on assertiveness, analytical thinking, athleticism, self-sufficiency, aggression and masculinity. They rated themselves lower on moodiness and soft-spokenness. They were less sympathetic to rape victims than were the students, being more likely to ascribe a causal role to the victim in a rape case. When the profiles were compared with those of male police recruits, a good deal of similarity between personalities was found. It must be noted that although the female recruits rated themselves high on "masculine" attributes they also rated themselves as being very "feminine". It has been suggested that far from being less feminine, and less interested in social relationships than "normal" women, policewomen are more likely to have had experience of diverse occupational role models during adolescence and are likely to be more stable and more mature than the average woman (Patrick, 1973). Women, according to Patrick, enter policing because it is interesting not because of some already present personality trait. Kennedy and Homant (1981) investigated the extent to which policewomen differed from other women in terms of personality type. They were concerned with two issues:

Were policewomen different in some way from other women?
Were policewomen similar to or different from policemen?

Using a sample of policewomen and a comparison group of nurses (a "traditional" occupation for women), they found policewomen to be significantly less feminine than nurses, to score higher on a score for "modernity" and to be less tied to gender-role stereotypes. Modernity is a measure of self-assurance and adjustment to new ideas; hence these findings lend support to the conclusions of Patrick (1973). Kennedy and Homant produced a description of policewomen as "changeable, daring, impulsive, masculine, reckless"; that is, these policewomen seemed to show typically masculine personality traits. They scored higher than the nurses on measures of feminism and less highly on a measure relating to value for civil liberties. Again, these findings seem to suggest similar personality characteristics for policewomen to those described as characteristic of male officers; perhaps in spite of being denied access to the inner social circle of police officers these women had still adopted their values and norms. Whether this was the case or whether in fact such a personality type was most likely to be attracted to policework, there seems no objective evidence for the view that the entrance of women to the police service would change the values of the force by introducing "feminine" personality characteristics and lead to "gentler" policing; on the contrary, the results support Remmington's view that when minorities enter a strong occupational culture their primary goal is to gain acceptance by adopting the behaviours of that culture and that they make little, if any, effort to change that culture.

It is believed that the occupational identity for a police officer is contingent on experience of the occupational values and norms of policing and the integration of these into a sense of self (Kennedy and Homant, 1981). In other words identity is a product of socialisation. There are two questions which need to be addressed in considering the development of female officers; firstly the extent to which gender socialisation outside the police force can be considered to structure the policewoman into an identity which is outside her control, and the ways in which the in-work and out-work roles synthesise to constitute an identity, and secondly, the

debate over whether or not identity can be viewed as solely a consequence of socialisation.

Identity in the Police Force

"*... the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.*" Marx (1968)

Identity can be viewed as an organising schemata, a network of self-referent memories which direct action (Harre, 1983); within this theoretical framework all actions can be seen to be guided by identity projects which are intended to result in the realisation of a particular form of self-concept. Thus identity is a motivational not an phenomenological concept. Tajfel (1978) also saw motivation as an important concept in guiding behaviour with respect to identity, though for him identity was the end product of social experience. In both approaches identity is viewed as the origin of actions; increasingly social psychologists interested in concepts of identity related to work or to gender, such as Breakwell (1987) have adopted the more sociological approach of seeing identity as the outcome of interactions within a particular social context which for women is characterised by a relational mode of discourse (Gilligan, 1982; Ulian, 1984). Identity has also been viewed as the product of some kind of social labelling in which attributions are made about a person and by a person in accordance with behaviour she exhibits in particular situations and identity is therefore actively constructed within separate social spatial and temporal contexts (Wells, 1978).

Holland (1977) suggests that to some extent the perceived conflict between sociological and psychological accounts of identity is simply an error of reification which confuses the limited, agentic concepts of psychology "*for an inadequate theory of the person in a social context*" and the structural emphasis of sociologists as a "*denial of autonomy*". Attempts have been made, on the whole unsuccessfully (Weinreich, 1983), to distinguish between personal identity (agentic) and social identity (structured); social identity is the product of hierarchically organised "internalised" roles which themselves are determined by society according to the individual's social position. Identity, while residing in the psychological, manifests itself in thought, action and affect.

Over time the processes of identity, (assimilation and accommodation of new components and evaluation of identity content in terms of meaning and usefulness) interact to determine the changing content and value of identity, driven by a changing social context and by desired goals or desirable end-states. Evidence suggests that identity construction is controlled in part by three principles, the desire for self esteem (Rokeach, 1978; Rosenberg, 1979) whereby people wish to be competent and in control of their own fate (O'Leary, 1985), the desire for continuity (Erikson, 1980) and the lack of sudden changes in the created identity (Shotter, 1985), and the desire for distinctiveness, this latter emphasised by researchers who believe that identity derives from group membership (Tajfel, 1978; 1982) which leads to differentiation between own-group and others along dimensions of positive value, almost operating as an analogue of the self-esteem principle. The location of these principles in the development of a gendered work-identity for women is problematic and will be discussed in chapter 2.

Certainly there appears to be no comprehensive or reputable theory of identity and identity development which excludes notions of role as constituted by society, although there is disagreement as to the extent to which role influences identity.

Theoretical problems posed for this study

This chapter has looked at some of the factors which might influence women's identity as police officers. There seems no evidence that women are not, in fact, capable of being competent police officers but their experiences, on a personal level, of exclusion and derogation make it probable that identity as a police officer and as a woman is one of conflict (Martin, 1979; Jones, 1986; Fielding, 1988). Being a policewoman is at the meeting point of two sets of divides, one social and the other occupational. The social divides are as police<u>woman</u> and as police<u>woman</u>. The occupational divides are vertical and horizontal; policewomen experience less promotion and more concentration in positions having limited responsibilities. It is the source and the process of resolution of these conflicts and the synthesis of identities which this research programme is designed to study. In order to do this the conflict between occupational-socialisation models of identity and notions of individualistic theories of identity must be resolved. In

particular it must be noted that theories of identity development and career behaviour, because of their formulations on theory built on male data (Wilkinson, 1986) do not necessarily cope with the real experiences of women workers; fragmented references to equal opportunities as a rationale for accepting androcentric models of work-identity acquisition (particularly where women see no reality in these opportunities) are inadequate. It is also a prerequisite for understanding the identities of women police officers that we have an explanation of femininity which transcends the traditional (and separated) views of it as:

1. a set of traits developing naturally from biological differences (eg dependence, communion, narcissism)
2. a set of psychological states fixed by the different experiences, limitations and potentialities of being a woman
3. a set of stereotypes associated with and fundamental to particular roles and taken up by the people who adopt those roles.

Wetherall (1986) suggests that although masculinity and femininity are ideological practices, they are effective because they can be seen as natural and inevitable outcomes of biology and experience. This seems to echo some of the reasons identified in this chapter as being given for *not* employing women in the police service. Occupational socialisation is a dialectical process between expressed formal policies and values of an organisation and the worker's perceptions and material experiences of their achievement through actual behaviour and informal reward systems (Skolnick, 1966). Organisation members are not free to fashion their world and their identities; they idealise and reify their own positions through the playing of their roles. Within the police force desocialisation precedes socialisation (van Maanen, 1975). From experience of difficult situations and unpleasant events a young officer's peers acquire salience for the individual (Moore, 1969) and the individual acquires an operating ideology. One factor, already noted, which sets apart the police officer from other occupations is the importance of acting as a team; because of the shiftwork element of policing, many social as well as work activities take place with colleagues and hence, even more than in most jobs, decisions taken on individual grounds rather than on those of the occupational culture are likely to be invisible.

According to Fielding (1988) there is in the police service a level of anticipatory socialisation, in a sense both of police values and of police lifestyles. This, Fielding noted, seems to follow a stereotypical conception of policework (physical, outdoors, authoritarian, militaristic), a proposition which gains support from recruits' reports of families' and friends' reasons for supporting or opposing their decisions to join. van Maanen (1975) insists that socialisation in the police represents a number of 'passages through a mirror'. Like any pluralist culture the police occupational culture is overtly non-controversial, accepting rules with which members are unlikely to disagree (eg "don't rat on a colleague"). To some extent external compliance with cultural norms is sufficient and there is undoubtedly considerable variation in the extent to which "rules" are implemented. It is through the acceptability of these variations that the position of women within the police culture can be understood. There is no doubt that police officers recognise the strength of their occupational culture and to some extent the powerful influence it exerts on them. To deviate, whether behaviourally or in terms of personal qualities is wrong, even where in a wider societal sense the deviation is correct. Hence, for example, a police officer aware of corruption among fellow officers is in an awkward position; the expressed values of the force insist that he should inform but the unofficial culture of support and comradeship (which could literally save his life) means that he should keep silent (Fielding, 1988). The position for policewomen is that the informal requirements of the culture often conflict with their gender-role requirements.

Proponents of occupational-socialisation theories view the occupational-identity as being a consequence of exposure to the social structure of the work group and involving an acceptance of the occupational values of peers and superiors and rejection of those values rejected by the group (Warr and Wall, 1975). Stanley and Wise (1983) criticize socialisation theory and the concept of gender "role"; most feminist theories view gender identity as being a more powerful influence on the individual's experience of work and reject the notion of a complete assimilation of the values and beliefs of the dominant occupational culture. Common to much structuralist and post-structuralist theory is the notion that identity is defined by the structures within which the individual is located and the nature of the discourses which constitute work. Similarly, certain feminist theory rejects the views

of psychoanalysts that women do not achieve as do men because of some component in their psychological makeup (for example, fear of success); rather women do not achieve because definitions of success are androcentric (Gilligan, 1977). While this can in part be seen as acceptable, it does not fully explain how women successfully synthesise an identity which stems at least in part from a masculine definition of achievement. Nor is the post-structuralist view, although complex, adequate in accounting for agency or for individuality in responses to experiences. Briefly, the view of post-structuralists writing on gender identity (such as Walkerdine 1990) is that meaning (and hence identity) is located externally through language; identity is constituted by the meanings of the discourses within which the individual is located rather than according to any Kelly-like construction of explanation at the individual level. The subject-as-agent is deconstructed and replaced with the constituted subject; in the case of policewomen one of the discourses within which they are constituted is the power-relationship between males/females which is a constituent of the structure of society. The subject is, within this framework, a fragmented set of contradictory positions and the individual identity merely the sum of all positions in discourse since birth (Henriques, 1984).

However this does not account for any continuity of the individual , nor for subjective experiences of identity. Henriques notes that individuals are consistent in the position they take within discourse; this is inexplicable within a theoretical framework which locates all meaning externally.

Overview

The questions raised in this chapter about the nature of identity for women in policework fall into two areas, concerns relating to issues of theory and those relating to issues concerning appropriate methodologies associated with the theory.

In terms of selecting a single theoretical framework within which to answer questions posed, there appears to be no single adequate theory to explain the development of an identity. The lack of agency implicit in structuralism

and the lack of any explanation of processual factors in occupational-socialisation accounts means that neither is wholly comprehensive as an explanatory tool. Similarly psychoanalytic and constructionist accounts of identity development place too much emphasis on individual agency and hence cannot account for the negative experiences of women who are cognitively able to construct very plausible interpretations and predictions of their occupational identity. In chapter 2 the development of appropriate theories of identity and responses to contradictions in identity within which to locate this research is elaborated.

The problems in determining an appropriate methodology are discussed in detail in chapter 3. However a methodology which enables an examination of conflict and contradictions within the experiences of female police officers, which takes into consideration the potential of a non-androcentric approach and which also takes into account the value of a phenomenological approach seems indicated from the literature reviewed in this chapter.

Chapter 2

THEORIES OF IDENTITY

Identity has been approached through a number of perspectives, which have encompassed views of identity understood with respect to social group membership (Tajfel, 1978), as knowledge of self through interaction (Mead, 1934; Markova, 1987), a construction historically situated and emerging from social and cultural processes (Gergen, 1977, 1987) and a set of socially produced knowledges learnt by an individual (Harre, 1983). The development of identity has been linked to biological development, through sociobiological theories (Wilson 1975) and through psychoanalytic theory (Freud, 1925; Klein, 1932; Jung, 1971; Sayers, 1985), to role modelling and identification (Bandura, 1977) and to social learning through reinforcement of sex-appropriate behaviour (Mischel, 1977; Maccoby, 1990).

Bem (1981) has outlined a gender schema theory which proposes that self can be thought of as a schema which begins as the child learns to differentiate him/herself in some way from other children, for example by gender, and then uses these naive theories of difference to explain observations and experiences. Through such gender schemas children and adults search for patterns of rules with which to predict and explain their lives. Simplistic gender schemas operate for example when individuals reject (or fail to even consider) certain career options because they are not "women's work" (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz, 1972).

Tajfel's work has focused on the dynamics of inter-group processes. This approach has at least a *prima facie* potential for explaining the dynamics of identity of women working in "men's" jobs, since it stresses the role of power and status relationships that operate between different social groups and the central importance of group membership in identity formation. Such an approach is clearly relevant given that policewomen may be thought to belong to two social groups; an occupational group, with strong associated values of masculinity, and a gender group which is feminine. Through the process of intergroup comparison, Tajfel proposed, dimensions (social categorisations) are established through which members of a group

both assert difference and learn to value those features of their group which comprise that difference. By internalisation of social categorisations characteristic of a group, individuals acquire particular social identities which may have positive or negative value.

Tajfel distinguishes between social and personal identities as being two different (contrasting) levels of self-categorisation (Tajfel, 1982). If a group identity is particularly meaningful for someone then the individual traits which mark the uniqueness of the individual become less to the fore of self-representation. In effect, individuals become depersonalised (Marshall and Wetherall, 1989) as the values and behaviours stereotypical of the group are internally attributed by the individual group member.

Harre (1983) has argued for a cultural diversity in the forms or structures of consciousness which underpin a sense of identity. He identified three elements of personal-being, the first being the personal (as distinct from the social) sense of identity through which the person conceives of herself as a singular being with a "*continuous* and unique history" (my italics), the second being consciousness understood as both knowing and knowing that one is knowing, and hence involving the capacity for attribution or self-reference, and the third being agency, which involves having a theory of self as having the ultimate power of decision and action. Harre believes that in Western cultures (although not universally) self-awareness and agency form the core of a sense of personal identity. He proposes that "identity" was an organisational feature of experience, the imposition of form "*derived from the practices of the social-collective world on inchoate material*" (Harre, 1987) and manifested as standard ways in which humans express themselves on the nature of their experiences. Since the practices of the social world communicate themselves through language, he argued, the cultural, ideological and social contexts which constitute language are fundamental to individual understanding of identity .

Gergen (1977), like Harre, views self or identity as being a social construction, historically situated within ongoing social processes. He believes that understanding the dynamics of identity involved focusing not on the individual but on the relationship between individuals, within which the possibility of individual identity is located:

"We speak of persons as having motives, beliefs, understandings, plans and so on, as if these are the properties of individual selves. However, if my arm is positioned above my head there is little that can be said about me as an individual. I am merely a spatio-temporal configuration. In contrast, if another person were before me, crouching and grimacing, suddenly it is possible to speak of me as aggressive, oppressive or ruthless" (Gergen, 1987)

Within this approach our identities, our individual characteristics, are primarily products of our proximity to others within specific linguistic, cultural and social contexts.

Mead (1934) proposed that an individual acquires a sense of self *"only by taking the attitudes of other individuals towards himself within a social environment or context of experience and behaviour in which both he and they are involved"*. For Mead, the agent, the "I", acts on the world; when the action is over it, and its outcomes, are reflected on by the "Me". Thus action and reflection are two stages of the same process and one exists relative to the other as I and Me constantly change position and change into each other. The reactions to the I by others inform the reflections of the Me - the I as agent acting and the Me as agent-reflecting. Thus gaining knowledge about self is for Mead a two way relationship between a person and her environment. It is an *"intimate relationship"* (Markova, 1982) in the sense that it is unique to that individual in that specific situation. However for self- knowledge to be of any use it should be possible for others to share it, so that although there is an unknowable (to others) relationship between I as a knower and Me as a known, the more like each other that individual knowers are in their preferences, personalities and social position, then the more mutual knowledge of each other they could be expected to display.

This is fundamentally different from the basis of identity proposed in social identity theory. In social identity theory, there is mutual knowledge of identity as a consequence of individuals' identities being tied to salient characteristics of the *group*, while within Markova's framework there is likely to be understanding consequent on familiarity, because of similar experiences of being responded to by other *individuals* (or even shared experiences which are *comprehended* through individual cognitions).

The acting agent is the 'becoming' while the reflecting agent is the 'being'. Hence Mead formulates a theory of self in which process and being are of equal importance and equally dynamic. Markova (1987a) takes this conceptualisation further. She notes that one can only talk about individuals in as much as they can be differentiated from, or opposed to, their environment. In the same sense the meaningfulness of something is dependent on the meaningfulness of its counterpart. The organization of self is only understood in the context of that which it is not, and "*we learn at the same time both what a thing is and what it is not*" (Markova, 1987b). Thus Markova (1987b) presents a theory of self and of identity, linked to Hegel's "*internal dilemma of consciousness which has to be practically resolved so that knowledge can progress*" (Markova, 1987b). Identity is not based on experience alone, nor solely on a construction based on information transmitted by others. Not only has an academic interest in identity emerged from a particular cultural context (Luria, 1976), but the contradictions between the self-as-agent and self-as-reflector also take place within a particular set of cultural and social assumptions.

While Markova sees self-knowledge in terms of an agent doing the knowing and structuring of information, she clearly sees identity as being interactional, consequent on practical engagement with the world and a synthesis of processes and knowledges. To know oneself and to have an "identity" requires an acceptance of the presence of contradiction and attempt at its resolution.

Breakwell (1986) suggests that identity can perhaps best be understood as:

"*a dynamic social product, residing in psychological processes, which cannot be understood except in relation to its social context and historical perspective*"

The social context in which the identity of policewomen is produced is one which is both masculine and feminine; hence the identity processes will involve a resolution of any conflict that may occur between the masculine and the feminine. For Breakwell the identity through in-group valuation

proposed by Tajfel does not take sufficient account of the much wider social and historical context in which individuals are located. If, as Carver and Scheier (1981) propose, the values which are invoked to produce behaviour in a situation are dependent on which aspect of self is being considered by the person at that time, then two or more aspects of self may be exerting mutually contradictory influences. In such circumstances conflict arises which results in an enhanced awareness of the possession of different selves. Erikson (1968) suggests that at such points of "crisis" one would expect decisions about identity to be made.

One of the weaknesses of viewing identity in terms of social role theories and theories which emphasise group membership such as those of Tajfel, is that the *process* of identity can only be approached through exploration of the conscious while the largely unconscious interaction of identity with activity remains unexplored. Erikson claims that only at moments of crisis, as we consider possible selves, are we aware of our "identity"; once identity decisions are made, questioning fades. It is known that people are aware of the existence of personal and social identities (Scheier and Carver, 1983); in a sense personal identity could be viewed as the more-or-less enduring residue of each "assimilation to and accommodation of a social identity" (Breakwell, 1986). Gergen (1968) suggests that identity formation is guided by three principles; continuity across time and situation, distinctiveness or uniqueness for the person, and feelings of self-esteem or personal worth. Thus identity can be seen as a consequence of a series of unconscious and conscious conflicts and resolution of these, between existing self and the requirements of a particular situation.

Not only is identity an outcome of actions it directs actions; in search of continuity, self-value and distinctiveness the individual makes decisions and undertakes acts. Identity is dialectically related to action. In the specific context of a possible challenge to identity actions will be taken to reduce challenge in some way (Breakwell, 1986). For an individual in employment which is not 'typical' for her/his sex such as the male nurse or male housekeeper, the female mechanic or police officer, the challenge to identity is continuous and leads to a number of possible outcomes.

Strategies for countering challenges to identity

Several strategies for coping with challenges to identity have been identified. Amongst these, the strategies of isolation, negativism, passing and compliance seem to be particularly salient to the consideration of women police officers' identities.

Isolation, a strategy of inaction rather than action, allows the individual to minimise threat by isolating herself from other people, and is particularly effective when the challenge is to self-esteem via stigmatisation of an occupation or identity position (Jahoda, 1982, on unemployment). For a policewoman in a position of dual-identity (as woman and as police officer) isolation from police colleagues outside the workplace or building a social life isolated from all but police officers might allow the resolution of the challenge. It is noted however that research seems to support the idea that such a strategy is counterproductive since a wide net of social contacts is associated with effective coping with stress (Cooper and Davidson, 1982).

Negativism entails the tactic of direct confrontation with those who challenge the identities; in the case of a policewoman this may involve confrontation with those who challenge her suitability, as a woman, to perform as an effective police officer, or those who challenged her ability to maintain a female identity . Reversal theory (Apter, 1983) (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed account) has at its base the idea of negativism. Apter asserts that negativism - at its most basic involving simply saying 'No' - characterises all of life's transitions; he describes it as a state of mind in which one feels a compulsion to act against pressures from an external source. For example in old age it can allow the individual to cope with the losses - of autonomy and health - which could lead to despair. Negativism allows for continuity, mentioned above as an important element in identity, in that continuity requires resistance to change in the face of attempts to impose change. It also allows for distinctiveness (see above) which is achieved through the rejection of orthodoxies and stereotypes. However Apter recognises a down-side to negativism; some people have over-generalised resistances whilst others, in the face of overwhelming external challenges to identity, may turn the anger of negativism inwards on themselves producing self-damaging behaviours.

The strategy of **Passing** (Watson, 1970) may enable an individual to evade a threatening situation through deceit. It normally occurs when the characteristics identifying the challenge to identity are easily hidden. A homosexual can "pass" for heterosexual. A policewoman can "pass" as a female in police work by not entering the masculine domain of policework, for example by operating the computer or by not involving herself in any physical aspect of the job. Alternatively, she may pass as a police officer by denying feminine aspects of her life (see Chapter 1, Martin (1979) on *police*women versus police*women*). The irony, of course, of passing is that, while its purpose is to protect a challenged identity, in the process that identity is consigned to the dust-bin, or at least is allowed no expression in the social world.

Compliance is a strategy which entails "role-playing" (Goffman, 1976) such that the individual conforms to perceived expectations. It may be that Martin's observations of *police*women and police*women* were in fact observations of compliant women in conditions of challenge to their identities. Stigmatised groups are known to comply with the expected role; such behaviour has been observed in, amongst others, schoolchildren fulfilling teachers' expectations of poor performance, expectations based on non-academic criteria such as social class and accent (Hargreaves, 1975) and in hospitalised schizophrenics (Braginski, Braginski and Ring, 1969).

Breakwell and Weinberger (1985) describe a study in which young women in "men's jobs" (engineering technicians) were asked as part of a long-term study to describe their positive attributes. Although the women reacted to criticism or ridicule for being in "wrong" jobs, by being determined to do better than the male trainees, they described their male counterparts strengths as being greater leaders and having greater technical skill, while their characterisations of themselves were that they were neater, more punctual, patient, logical and tactful. They appeared to be complying with the supervisor's images of male and female workers. The supervisors had very different ideals for male and female technicians. Within weeks of joining the firm the women had very clear ideas about what was expected of them. Compliance was, in their situation, useful because it allowed them, through a temporary strategy, to gain long-term advantage. However

compliance can militate against continuity and self esteem and can produce a double-bind, where non-compliance generates rejection but so does compliance.

These strategies for coping with challenges to identity will be explored in the context of the Critical Incident interviews in chapter 7 and chapter 8. In chapter 8 the alternatives to coping, namely attempts to modify the 'rules' of policework, are also examined.

Employment which is "sexually atypical" (Breakwell, 1986) may pose problems for identity in the domains of distinctiveness, continuity and self-esteem. Although such an employment could be viewed as distinctive in the sense that being a woman in a "man's job" is highly distinctive, the specific distinctiveness of her biologically-ascribed femininity is diminished. Such an identity would have reduced continuity since there is a contradiction between the gendered work-identity and the gender-identity associated with biological sex and created by social processes and ideological values (Chetwynd and Hartnett, 1978). There is also a possible threat to self esteem associated with taking on employment which is not typical for a woman, although the impact on self-esteem will be partly influenced by the status associated with the job *per se*. It will also be influenced by the level of choice available to the person taking up the job; if a woman takes a job, knowing that it is a 'man's job" then she may accept personal responsibility for that decision and has little opportunity to use a defensive strategy such as attributing responsibility for success and failure elsewhere. A woman choosing a career in police work, knowing that it has expectations of behaviour associated with masculinity has little opportunity to blame, say, the employment market, if her female self-esteem is challenged (her behaviour is too hard and 'masculine') or if her abilities as a police officer are challenged (she is not physically tough). This would not be the case for, for example, a woman forced through economic circumstances and lack of job opportunities locally, into farm labouring as a job.

The choice a person makes about employment is informed by a range of ideological factors, mediated by the social communication networks within which she is located. These existing structures inform her ideas about her identity, her possible self and the kind of work she will prefer. However,

challenges to identities can produce damage and strategies to minimise the risks of damage.

Conclusion

Theories of identity have a common theme of identity deriving from an individual's position within particular social and communication networks and her actions and behaviours from which she learns to know herself. Identity may be related to membership of one or more groups and the negative or positive qualities associated with that group membership will be defined by ideological contexts and dominant power relations. People are produced by the social relations characteristic of a specific social formation at a particular point in time:

"*Children from birth begin a process of entry into a* historically specific *social formation whose institutions, including 'the family', must ultimately contribute to its production and reproduction*" (Leonard, 1984)

Identity conflicts will occur when individuals see themselves as belonging to mutually contradictory or conflicting groups. The desirable end-states of identity, namely continuity, self-value and distinctiveness are arrived at through the processes of assimilation and accommodation (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969) absorbing new features into identity structures and modifying those in order to find a place for new elements, and through the process of evaluation, the giving of meaning and relevance to features and experiences. Identity formation takes place within a context of conflict and conflict resolution, through contradiction and synthesis.

This leaves particular issues raised with respect to researching identity. These will be dealt with in depth in the following chapter but, in summary, it is believed that in order to understand the processes of identity dynamics the following need to be taken into consideration:

1. The social contexts of identity.
2. The consequences of identity for action.
3. Strategies for coping with identity conflict and identity challenges and the consequences of such strategies for the individual.
4. The processes involved in identity dynamics and the principles of their

operation.

5. The contexts in which identity conflicts are produced, experienced and resolved.

Chapter 3

RESEARCHING IDENTITY IN POLICEWOMEN: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES, AIMS AND RATIONALE

"What counts as true knowledge is ostensibly defined by the individual, but what is permitted to count is defined by discourse. What is spoken, and who may speak, are issues of power" (Parker, 1989)

Introduction

This chapter will address four specific issues. Firstly, it will consider methodological principles. Secondly, the psychological processes underlying the achievement of identity will be discussed. Thirdly, a range of methods and research tools will be evaluated. Finally, the rationale for the final selection of specific research methods will be elaborated. The articulation of these research methods and underlying theoretical assumptions will also be examined.

Three methodological themes were tentatively identified at the outset of this study. They were that:

1) *That work comprises a psychological process and this should be considered in the methodological perspective.*
2) *People's own experiences, evidence and evaluations are valuable and valid, indeed necessary, parts of the study of human identity.*
3) *That the presence, absences and experiences of this group of women in work must be examined critically in the context of the wider subjectivity of working women.*

There was also a need to optimise opportunities for data acquisition and seek sufficient data for an exploratory study

Work as a Psychological Process

The characteristics of identity salient to experiences at work are, within the traditional psychological models, either present on entry to the job (eg identified as part of the job requirements and looked for during the selection process, consequent on the self-selection of individuals for specific occupations, or incidental to or consequences of specified job requirements) or are acquired through group socialisation and normalisation processes (Rambo 1982).

Following my literature search I concluded that five main methods have been used to study the characteristics of identity salient to experiences at work. Each offered a field of enquiry for the study of policewomen's identities:

1) *Socialisation*

The study of the process of socialising workers into a "work identity" (Block, Von der Lippe and Block, 1973). What then, of the training, the explicit socialisation of policewomen?

2) *Role-modelling.*

Where a clearly defined role model is not available, as for example in employment where a female worker encounters only male co-workers (Marshall and Wetherall, 1989) a consequence may be a failure to assimilate appropriate norms, leading to inappropriate or unacceptable behaviour, dissatisfaction, illness, "exiting" or the adoption of specific strategies to overcome problems produced (McClure and Piel, 1978). What role models were made available to the study's subjects?

3) *Images of the work*

The study of "images" of jobs as held by job-holders and by outsiders, particularly in occupations where those images have gender or age connotations (McClure and Piel, 1978). How did the study's subjects "see" images of themselves within and beyond the police service?

4) *Career biographies*

The study of career as exemplified through progress, absenteeism, "exiting", etc. of workers over a long period of time and extrapolating from these data

(Perun and DelVento-Bielby, 1981). What were the career characteristics of policewomen?

5) *Desirable and undesirable aspects of work*

Establishing those factors of an individual's work experiences which are viewed as positive and those which are viewed as negative, and determining which of these relate to economic/cultural factors and which to work-identity and in what ways, for example by using the Job Descriptive Index (Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969). Flanagan (1954) conceptualised these aspects as 'critical incidents'. What were the themes behind the foci of the critical incidents of the study's subjects?

Again tentatively, I also concluded that to some extent the study of work-related likes and dislikes provides the framework for understanding material gathered through the other approaches.

Working Women

Psychological literature on women in work has frequently viewed the individual as a set of coherent but well-differentiated components (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987); the dramaturgical analogy of role dominates. The actress learns some parts well , others less well; some of the between-scene changes required are too rapid/too different and the transition is not made - the woman sits uneasily in these roles. The impingement of one role on another is understood as an interference in line-learning - an analogy picked up and echoed in the work of feminist researchers claiming that the "language" of some occupations is inherently male and consequently cannot be reproduced by a female "voice" (i.e. that the definition of correct practice is androcentric and hence unattainable by women).

The gist of what is being said can, perhaps, be understood by contrasting role theorists with discourse theorists. Within discourse theory, while the positioning of individuals (and hence the production of them as social subjects) within different discourses is axiomatic, it also axiomatic that this subject, the whole, is a synthesis, a continuous process . Thus discourse theories, in spite of their emphasis on subjectivity being produced outside the direct control of the subject, offer the possibility of change in the activities and experiences of subjects as ideological changes take place,

changes which appears less accessible within the learned gender-schemas of role theories.

The importance of the presence of adequate role models in the early career of policewomen has been emphasised by several researchers (Martin, 1979; Jones, 1986). It has been noted that policewomen face two particular problems in developing an occupational identity and minimising stress resulting from work relationships. These are:

1. The defining characteristics of good policing being couched in masculine terms i.e. the good officer has characteristics in terms of interpersonal skills, physique, interactional style etc. which are essentially male. This, in practice, seems to be universal regardless of official force policy or indeed, of national characteristics of the police force (see Jones, 1986 (UK); Martin, 1979 (USA); Lidgard, 1988 (Australia)).
2. The lack of adequate role-models (i.e. policewomen) in training school, during the probationary period with tutor constables, and as 'good' or senior officers during her career hampers the individual policewoman in her construction of an integrated identity of self-as-woman and self-as-police officer. It is interesting to note here that the lack of such models has usually been explained in terms of a contemporary lack of suitable women officers (Martin, 1980: Jones, 1986).

The consequence in practice is that policewomen are not well resourced to deal with work experiences related to the dominant androcentrism of policework. Policewomen report harassment ranging from sexist comments, ostracism, being commonly called on for womanly duties (e.g. rape reports, cot deaths, child abuse interviews, sudden death calls), to being sent alone on calls where violence is anticipated (Martin, 1979). Given that so many experience, or at least observe, such events it is hardly surprising that the experience of stress is not unusual nor that many adopt coping strategies to reduce stress. Nevertheless participant observation led me to believe that there could be "successful" women in policing and thus that the role-model deficiency explanations for the experiences of women police officers are, at best, simplistic and inadequate.

Firstly, role model explanations are framed round the lack of female

'success' identities on which policewomen can model. I proposed that the answer to the established 'role-model' question *"Who is/was most influential?"* would, at any given time, be constrained by contemporaneous perceptions of power and function rather than familiarity (Wright, 1984), just as an undergraduate student in her first year might give very different answers to such a question to those given by her during her final year of study.

Within a particular organisational context assumptions are made about fittedness; since the police force is a highly structured and hierarchical organisation, then the responses of police officers are likely to be highly predictable and to reflect the organisation's ideology regardless of whether or not the policewoman actually has a successful woman on whom to 'model'. The evidence from the pilot stage of the investigation supported this. It was not the case that questions about influential persons are not relevant to understanding issues relating to a police woman's identity; it was rather that they were likely to produce answers which were more informative about the nature of the police force than about an individual policewoman's experiences, struggles and achievement in terms of identity.

Secondly, I reasoned that role modelling theorists can be criticised for assuming a process without addressing the issue of the dynamic within that process. It is this dynamic which the study aims to understand and for which alternative methodologies were sought.

Women's Identities: considerations for method and approach

The Dynamics of Identity Development

The differences between men and women in the way in which they conceptualise the world, and the consequent implications for researching gendered identities has been alluded to above. Gilligan (1982) suggests that women experience and represent the world 'in a different voice', a person centred voice more emotionally connected and less abstract than the male voice. Concepts of autonomy, independence and abstract achievement are not the focal issue in describing what it is to be female. Men and women seem to be operating with very different internal models of the world and these can best be summarised by saying that for men the

dominant image is one of achievement and for women it is one of affiliation. Within this framework it is possible that a central aspect of identity is the commitment to a self in relationship rather than a self which stands alone (Josselson, 1987).

Because so much of the psychology of women has been the study of what they are not (in comparison to men) it has misunderstood women's identity formation because the language through which concepts like affiliation and relationship have been understood has been the language of dominance and subordination.

"Women's audience is predominantly male. Even its female members have been socialised into male values and tend to apply these as consistently as do their male counterparts" (Marshall, 1984).

Some feminists researchers have suggested that the focus of the study of women's identity development should be through the analysis of relationships with others:
"this psychic starting point contains the possibilities for an entirely different approach to living and functioning in which affiliation is valued as highly as, or more highly than self-enhancement" (Miller, 1976).

Central to Gilligan's argument is the proposal that women and men have disparate experiences of self and relationships and that consequently they speak in different voices which are assumed (through use of androcentric models) to be the same; hence much emphasis has been placed on the male way of developing which has led to women being deemed "immature" in comparison with men. Gilligan links gender socialisation with patterns of behaviour and reasoning in which the female experience has been interpreted as a failure to develop into an autonomous individual. Gilligan is adamant that differences lie in patterns of gender socialisation not in any innate predisposition of women to conceptualise relationally rather than adversarily; in other words she rejects an essentialist account of female identity.

What Gilligan's work demonstrates, as far as methodological issues are concerned, is that there is firstly, a need for a method of data collection which empowers the subject to identify experiences which are relevant to her and secondly, that analysis of data collected must involve a recognition of the problem of objectivity and subjectivity.

Marcia (1980) has developed a useful approach to interpreting identity development. His work involved the operationalisation of Erikson's (1967) definitions, making them researchable by focusing on crisis and commitment to identity elements. In order to forge identity, Erikson suggests, one must experience some sort of crisis in long held ideas. During adolescence the young individual weighs ideas about important issues such as occupation and ideology and by the end of adolescence s/he makes a commitment about what to become and what to believe. The core of adult identity is these commitments. Those who successfully transcend crisis and make commitments can be said to have achieved at least a stage-specific identity (Identity Achievements) while those who avoid the process, experiencing no crisis but neither making any commitments are described as being in the stage of Identity Diffusion. There are also two intermediate possibilities; the individual may carry forward her previously incorporated (derived from others) standards and goals, bypassing the identity crisis stage. These are identified as having Foreclosed Identities. The other intermediate possibility is that a person may still be testing her ideas and considering various commitments, such a person being described as being in the Moratorium phase. Each identity status carries positive and negative characteristics. Foreclosures can be described as either loyal or rigid, cooperative or conforming; Moratoriums may be seen as either flexible or indecisive, philosophical or anxious; Diffusions can be viewed as either carefree or irresponsible: Identity Achievers are seen as independent and self-directed although they may lack flexibility and their commitments may be premature.

The beginning of the identity formation period in late adolescence, as they start to consider choices about careers, has the individual with either a foreclosed or diffusion identity; that is they are rooted in childhood identities or they are without purpose. The mode of acquiring identity for women is tied up with relatedness and connectedness, while for men the

dominant factor is achievement. It has been found that psychological wellbeing and developmental maturity in women is associated with Identity Achievement and Foreclosures, while in men it is associated with Identity Achievement and Moratorium (Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Schenkel and Marcia, 1972). The dimensions of psychological health were self-esteem and low anxiety. Hence relationship dominance is seen as desirable in women but not for men. Josselson (1987) described Foreclosure women as "*not having left home*"; more strikingly, the testing and trying out of new ideas and ideologies (the Moratorium phase) is seen as healthy only for men, being undesirable for women. This raises the question whether women are somehow discouraged from exploring identity possibilities, or whether they are being differentially rewarded for making identity commitments, whether or not they are in occupations having a 'masculine' identity.

Such ideas are heavily influenced by notions that autonomy, independence and achievement should be the goals of everybody, not just men. When the Moratorium phase is described as healthy for men but unhealthy for women, it is associated with the same characteristics in men and women (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz, 1972). This type of approach suggests that while this split may exist between autonomous development for men and relatedness development for women, it is only the male who is regarded as adult; according to Broverman and her co-workers, women who value relationships are seen as childlike although paradoxically this is also a defining characteristic of a developmentally mature woman. Within this model, women's very sense of self comes from living through others, although Broverman *et al.* note that it is accepted that to do so is problematic for developing a sense of self and identity. This model of appropriate sex roles and sex role behaviour, independence for men and attachment for women is widely accepted; what is not accepted is that both represent maturity and adjustment and that neither is a better way of functioning. Thus the "mature" female is seen as operating in an immature way, in comparison with males. Moreover where gender identity is contradicted by an occupational identity it may be identity constituted within gender which determines effectiveness, psychological well-being and satisfaction, rather than identity defined by occupation.

The notion of "choice" and decision making in Marcia's work also occurs in

the theory of Psychological Type, based on Jungian psychodynamics, and further developed by Myers and Myers (1980)

"..both channel their interests and energies into activities that give them a chance to use their minds in the ways they prefer, and each acquires the set of surface traits that grow out of the basic preferences beneath" (Myers and McCaulley, 1985)

Jung's models of masculinity and femininity have been the focus of heated conflict between feminists who describe Jungian Psychology as "racist and sexist" (Goldenberg, 1976) and those who see potential and value in his concepts of Eros (relationship) and Logos (intellect) as relating to femininity and masculinity, whether or not, according to Wehr (1988), they view these as essential or as a product of social positioning. In the context of this research Jung's psychology has two important strands; firstly, his emphasis on a psyche based on polarities, containing as it does an understanding of the life-course as producing through experience of contradictions, the development of strengths and of weaknesses in the polarities, including the polarities of the masculine and the feminine, and secondly, in the value Jungian psychology places on "meaning-making", it *"...offers a balance to an overly rational, materialistic world and can shed light on the darkness of a soul lacking meaning"* (Wehr, 1988)

A difficulty in incorporating Jungian theories has been the element of innateness in Jung's conceptualisation of gender; for Jungians the feminine is biological, even, in Wehr's words, "*ontological*". A discussion of masculinity/femininity and subjectivity which eschews analysis of social constructionism must be viewed as incomplete given the evidence for social constructions of gender (Hollway, 1989; Butler, 1990). Jungian theorists attempting a women-oriented rereading of Jung have tended to avoid the debate about charges of essentialism (eg Wehr, 1988; Shorter, 1987) by focusing on the positive aspects of Jungian theory for confronting anti-female bias and for woman-centred therapies.

Jungian theory proposes explanation of the human psyche in terms of two models, a model of balance and a model of conflict. The model of balance sees the always-present polarities as adjusting to each other; in other words the

psyche is a homeostatic system and resolution of (inevitable) conflict between the polarities occurs when one is true to both sides of the conflict, allowing the "unconscious" to produce a resolution. It is in Jung's conceptualisation of the life review that this balance model is most obvious (Coleman, 1986). A second model, that of conflict, emerges from reading Jung's account of oppositions; tension between these polarities seem fundamental to the working of the psyche. Jung wrote that the cessation of tension implied death. The theoretical base for Jung's psychodynamic theory, and for developments of it, appears therefore to be that of a synthesis of balance and conflict.

Jung's theory of type establishes his position on the resolution of conflict and the development of balance. Type theory proposes that individuals have four possible ways of understanding the world; these are thinking or feeling and intuition or sensation. Each pair is mutually exclusive since one cannot, for example, both think and feel at the same time. Thinking and feeling are rational functions; feeling means placing high value on something (it does not imply emotionality) while thinking is understanding through logical analysis. Intuition and sensation are irrational functions; intuition is the ability to know the whole while sensation is primarily concerned with detail. While the typologies are discussed in more detail in chapter 5, it is necessary for understanding the relevance to the methodology of the study to understand the ways in which Jung explained the operation of the functions.

Jung has proposed that we are born with one of these functions acting as a superior; we work with it naturally and easily. Two more functions are accessible and we can use them relatively well. The fourth function is inferior, underdeveloped, and we use it clumsily and it is less under conscious control. Part of the process of maturation is the coming to terms with the opposites, and developing conscious control over the inferior function. In particular Jungians, whether working within the orthodox essentialist paradigm or whether viewing "feminine" activity as a product of social relations, see feeling and intuition as part of the female psyche while thinking and sensation are rooted in the masculine. This is important when studying the process of becoming a policewoman (entering a male world) since Type theory holds that Feeling is the primary function of

women and hence Thinking will be most women's inferior function. Therefore, when a woman Thinks it will be unpractised and done with difficulty. This is not an issue of a lesser intellectual ability, some genetic inferiority of women, rather a question of familiarity and competence with logical thought. Feminist Jungians such as Wehr (1988) have attempted to link a positive reading of Jung with the work of established anti-androcentric writers such as Chodorow and Gilligan, noting the similarity between Jung's Feeling and Intuitive types and Gilligan's relationality as the preferred mode for women's thought, and between women's "diffuse" consciousness (Eros) and with Chodorow's proposal that women have a tendency to "*boundary confusion and a lack of sense of separateness from the world*" (Chodorow, 1978).

The conflict model and the focus on resolution of conflict provides one way of determining appropriate methodologies for the collection and interpretation of data within this study, through an analysis of conflict resolution and the context of conflict and achievement within which resolution takes place. Another way of looking at the construction and experience of a work-identity is to examine the dynamic between personal and gender roles in work. The traditional feminine role has had no place for a strong sense of the personal self; indeed for some women the gender role bears the whole weight of identity (Bell and Schaffer, 1984). Nevertheless part of the process of becoming a policewoman must be the resolution of the conflict between the gender role and the occupational (masculine) role - such a resolution must be dynamic, changing with life events and contextual as well as individualistic.

Apter (1982) has proposed an approach to understanding identity construction in which the concept of synergy played a central part (see chapter 2). Synergy refers to an identity which embraces contradictory meanings; there are two levels of meaning in which the identity may have mutually exclusive or even strongly opposite characteristics and there can therefore be a sense in which the different meanings actually constitute an identity. In other words, identity is seen (and experienced) in one way *and* another, rather than in one way *or* another. Apter distinguishes between two states, Telic, in which the individual is, or feels the need to be, primarily oriented to some goal, and Paratelic in which the

individual is primarily oriented to some aspect of her continuing behaviour and its related sensations. In the paratelic state identity synergy is felt to be pleasant and sought after; in the telic state, synergy distracts from goal directed behaviour and hence is experienced as unpleasant, a block and a source of stress. Apter describes acting as a complex form of identity synergy, since not only does the actor have two "identities" (self and acted role), but the "false" identity might itself be synergic e.g. the role of Queen Victoria has a synergy between the historical figure and the characterisation of that figure through the playwright's perception of her. To refer to the student analogy used earlier in this chapter, the "student" element of identity will have a synergy between experiences of being a student and role expectations of being a student, each of which will have its own separate dynamic as the undergraduate progresses through her degree.

In taking one view of the policewoman, as acting a part, the synergy will include not only simple synergic forms inherent in her own identity as woman and woman police officer but also the complex form of the acted (and prescribed) role. In reversal theory an identity may have two mutually exclusive characteristics, A and B. The transition includes a period where both A and B are present, the conceptual equivalence of rites of passage. There is nothing static about synergy, rather the two opposing components become salient alternatively, thus setting up a series of reversals, including regular moments when the two meanings overlap. Where there are two levels of meaning contemporaneously one will predominate i.e. the individual will be primarily aware of one and marginally aware of the other. A synergy emerges from a single identity when that identity is seen to have contradictory characteristics of some kind, in this instance *police*woman and police*women*. Although it has been suggested that identity for a policewoman can be studied by looking at the preferred identity construction or identity use (i.e. with the focus on either *police* or *woman*), another way of interpreting data is to look at identity through the synergy paradigm. It would also be possible to study synergy in the Telic and Paratelic states and relate these to gender identity (as proposed by Gilligan, 1982) and to goal directedness in terms both of career aspirations and personal goals.

The rationale for the methodology is implicit in the theoretical approaches summarised above. The approach to the study of women, especially in the context of work, has traditionally taken an androcentric stance, assessing female behaviour on male terms and often defining them in terms of "lack" of qualities or the possession of "unnecessary" or even contra-indicated qualities. In order to avoid inappropriate male-female comparisons it was decided to study women police officers only; in a study of the process-of-achieving an identity, analysis based on difference comparisons was felt to be misfocused. The emphasis on synthesis and conflict resolution contained in the theoretical accounts of identity reviewed in chapters 2 and 3 lead to a need for identification of a method of understanding the process which allows for personal accounts of conflict recognition and resolution. The analyses, both the qualitative and quantitative, should also recognise the subjective nature of research:
"it is important that we also make the reflective researcher part of that which is studied" (Hawkins, 1988).

The values and aspirations of the researcher are inevitably linked, however hidden that link, to the processes and outcomes of the research. In recognising the subjectivity of the researcher, biases can be confronted rather than denied (Hollway, 1989).

Methodologies Considered

Underpinning the study was the thought that an appropriate methodology could to identify any process through which policewomen might maintain a coherence in their concept of self while occupying role positions which "traditional" role theories would hold to be contradictory or at least non-complementary. The use of the term "coherence" here does not imply some uni-dimensional or non-contradictory identity, rather a subjectivity whose boundaries define common attributes.

The reference points round which identity coalesced were conceptualised as being:

1. *Where?*

2. *What/Who?*
3. *How/Why?*

1. *Where* This is conceived as being the conceptual terrain of policework; the ideas about policing which had influenced decisions to join, the features of policework which gave pleasure and those which caused anxiety and lack of satisfaction, the knowledges of the structure of the police service which influenced career decisions and the factors which constituted for policewomen the nature of policework within their subjective experiences.

2. *What/Who* In a sense this is a horizontal slice of a policewoman's life history. The questions to be asked relate to a life review; who were these women at any particular point in their lives and how did life values and experiences combine and constitute a certain individual?

3. *How/Why* This conceptualisation of the research problem focuses round the nature of the policewoman's personal experiences and is directed, through the analysis of her experiences of both activity and affect, towards explanations of the ways in which the intersection between public and private identities, and between policewoman and woman identities, produce a current, coherent identity.

Methods of investigation which have been developed in previous studies of gender-identity issues in the workplace have included questionnaires (Jones, 1986), participant observation (Martin, 1979), structured interviews (Martin, 1980; Liddle and Joshi, 1987), ethnographic interviews (Spencer and Podmore, 1987), Role-Strain inventories and more general Stress Inventories (Cooper and Davidson 1982; Lewis and Cooper, 1988), public attitude surveys (Bell, 1982), examination of references provided for applicants (Walklate, 1992) and personality inventories (Kakabadse, 1984; Mills and Bohannon, 1980). The methods considered for this study are discussed below with reference to:

a) their general suitability in collecting data relevant to the aims of the research.
b) their suitability for research with a busy and potentially wary subject

group.

c) their suitability for a study in which an element of the theoretical perspective was that research should not merely abstract from subjects during the data collection process, but should empower them in the sense of allowing them to tell their own story.

Defining the sample

1. *Cohort or longitudinal study of policewomen from entry versus a cross-sectional sample*

Initially it was considered that an appropriate starting point for studying the process of becoming a policewoman would be the initial entry into the police service, using a longitudinal study of individual policewomen and identifying key experiences. The use of cohort studies is well documented (e.g. Honess, 1989, investigating adolescent career expectations) and can provide insight into the development of an individual in the workplace (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987). Fielding and Fielding (1992) studied new recruits to the police in order to examine their values and attitudes to female officers. The advantages of such a method for this study seemed obvious; the factors relating to initial career choice (i.e. personal career expectations, advice from family and school, and images of policework), would be immediately accessible to the researcher rather than involving a "reconstruction" of old memories, susceptible to change and interference (Neisser, 1982), as would be the case with a sample taken at a later point in the policewoman's career. Moreover, in such a sample the consonances or contradictions between images of policing and actualities of the work could also be evaluated as they occurred. From a theoretical perspective the idea of taking a "longitudinal section" of someone's life in order to understand the dynamics of identity is both legitimate and appealing. However the practical problems would be many. These included problems of accessibility, the size and geographical spread of the sample, and the length of time available for the study. There was also the consideration of the information which would *not* be available using such a technique, specifically information from women with a longer period of police service.

2. *Accessibility*

The police-force operates within a tightly hierarchical structure (Holdaway, 1983; Jones, 1986; Graef, 1989) with officers required to respond to the commands of superior officers. This is certainly the case with officers during their two years probationary period; they have little autonomy, as one would expect of trainees within any organisation, particularly one with such clearly defined hierarchies. Acceptance of discipline, immediate response to the instructions of superiors and acceptance of forces mores are part of the process of assimilation into the appropriate occupational role. However, in practice, the consequence for this study was that the views of officers senior to the women under study could interfere with the research process; put bluntly, if an officer disagreed with the aims or existence of this research, or indeed any research, then s/he could impose those views on a junior officer either explicitly or implicitly. In the following chapter 7 this issues is discussed further, but a specific example will serve to illustrate the point. A constable coming to the end of her probationary period was selected as a subject for the interview stage of the research. On being contacted she expressed a willingness, indeed enthusiasm, for being interviewed. She telephoned two days later to say her station sergeant had forbidden her to be interviewed. I told her that the Chief Constable of her force had given his permission and that, if still she wished to participate and be interviewed, I could come to her home outside working hours. She agreed. She phoned back later that day and commented that her station sergeant was still giving her trouble and asked for her Training Superintendent (for the Division) to be contacted to ask him to confirm permission with the Station Sergeant. This was done and the interview went ahead; after the interview she told me that the station sergeant had told her he disapproved of her involvement, but that she did not care since she had already been told that she was to be transferred to N (a large town in the force area) and with luck would have no further contact with him.

Other instances of senior officers in stations refusing permission for women to take part in the study, or threatening future problems in their careers if they did participate, are documented in chapter 7. The disapproval of a superior officer might not only manifest itself in conflict between the policewoman and that officer; it could also manifest itself as

hostility between the policewoman and the researcher since the disapproval can be verbally expressed as a defence of insiders (the police) against outsiders. The phenomenon has been experienced by psychologists and sociologists researching workplaces, and is particularly powerful in occupations with a strong occupational culture (Rambo, 1982). While to an extent this hostility can be lessened by the researcher becoming more acceptable and knowledgeable about the occupation being studied, in this instance by periods spent shadowing police officers and resident in a Home Office Police Training Centre, the potential for influence of a probationer to the point of her refusing to participate in stages of the study was felt to be sufficient to be a factor to take into account in the final design of the study.

3. *Location and Geographical Spread of sample*

For the interview stage of the research two alternatives presented themselves; either, in the case of a longitudinal study of individual policewomen, the research could comprise several interviews sampling different stages of each individual's career experience, or, in the case of a study in which the different stages of career development would be represented by different policewomen (a cross-sectional study), several interviews could be conducted, each of which would reflect one of these different stages.

Given the aim of the research was to investigate the identity of policewomen generally rather than focusing on a particular force, and given the geographical spread of the sample base, if the design involved following specific policewoman at specific dates in their probationary period it may have proved to be impossible to do so at the appropriate times within the time constraints of this research.

4. *Time Constraints*

One way of conducting research of this type would be to follow policewomen from entry to the police, through training, promotions etc. to the time of leaving. Such a study would require a lengthy time-scale, possibly a duration of ten or more years and was obviously not possible. The alternative was either to look at a specific stage of a policewoman's career (eg the first two years, the fifth to the seventh year

of service etc.) and to attempt an analysis of the processes contributing to the "identity", or alternatively, to sample policewomen at different stages of their careers and then extrapolate from the data collected to a 'process of becoming'. This would allow sampling across the full working years of policewomen and for both the survey and interview stages of the research this was the method chosen.

Acquiring Data

The dominant paradigms in identity research represent a form of dualism, whether that dualism reflects positions which are essentialist, patriarchal or structuralist. That is to say, research traditionally assumes polarities to exist in identity and choices (e.g. of career) associated with identity. Fundamentally, what is a social construct has come to be viewed as "lawlike" (Glennon, 1983) with either/or assumptions being associated with polarities e.g. reason or emotion, fact or value, individual or collective, work or domesticity. This research, in focusing on dialectical change and on the process of the dialectic, can be said to reject simple dualism, as is illustrated in the review of theories of identity in this chapter and in chapter 2. In building on existing theoretical foundations the data collected has to enable *process* to be studied.

The three domains of interest referred to above, namely Where?, What/Who?, and How/Why? are focused on differing aspects of the policewoman's identity. Research into these domains has in the past used different methods; these will now be addressed.

Where

Investigating the concept of policework held by individual policewomen ie their knowledge, beliefs and values requires a systematic collection of facts. This can be achieved through the use of a structured interview, the development and use of scales such as the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957) and repertory grids (Fransella and Bannister, 1977), and through the use of questionnaires. Initially the decision to be made was whether to implement written or oral surveys. For three reasons the former was selected. Firstly, there is an issue of consistency in the administration of oral questionnaires, especially when using a large sample. Secondly, for practical reasons of time constraints and availability of the

sample, it was felt that it was not practical to hold detailed interviews with a large sample. Thirdly, it was believed that the response rate for the initial phase of the research would be higher, and that willingness to participate in the second stage of in-depth interviews would be higher, if subjects were able to answer question in private and at their own pace and at a time of their choosing. This decision was made consequent on the researcher spending a period of time observing policewoman at work and discussing with them feelings about research, researchers, interviews and questionnaires. This would represent the first stage of data collection.

What/Who

The goals of this stage of the research were to identify the values and preferences of policewomen in work-related interactions as an indicator of their individual styles and personal development. Since the basis for this interest stemmed from the theoretical strength of Type Theory in the context of research on identity, the most appropriate research tool was believed to be the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. The indicator has been widely used in assessing development and development potential of police men and of numerous other occupational groups and allows for assessment of both preferred style of interaction and problem-solving (crucial aspects of a police-officer's work) and also the strength of those preferences and development of less preferred styles. Type has been related to experience of stress and burnout (Garden, 1985; 1987; 1990) and to occupational success (Caccioppe and Mock, 1985). It allows not only for profiling work-style but also has been used in conjunction with other sources of data to examine responses to specific questions/situations.[1]

How/Why

This stage of the research was to be concerned with the experiences, processes, activities and affects which produced, through experienced contradictions, a synthesis or the "identity" of the subject at a particular time. It was envisaged that themes and patterns of communality of experiences would emerge to enable the production of an explanatory narrative; at the same time differences constituting individual careers could also be examined and explored. Since the focus was to be on individual's experiences a number of data collection tools were considered. The initial decision to be made was whether to direct the subject towards specific

themes in their experiences (e.g. harassment at work, appraisal interviews, memories of first arrest, satisfiers and dis-satisfiers) through the use of structured or semi-structured interviews or through a written questionnaire format, or whether to invite subjects themselves to describe experiences of their own selection, which they believed to have been significant in their lives.

The research is about the meaning and interpretation women police officers make of themselves in the context of their work experiences. So an appropriate method allows space for meanings to be made by the research subjects and explored by the researcher. Jones (1983) proposed the life-history technique as a way of investigating the meaning and interpretation individuals place on their experiences:

"It is a technique that explicitly recognises the collusion of the researcher in the research process and allows the researcher access to the processes involved in meaning construction"

The technique takes as its sources of information the accounts people give of their lives or of meaningful segments of their lives.

"These accounts document the relationship between the individual and his or her social reality; they describe the way individuals interpret and define the contexts in which their lives have been acted out and the meaning their participation had for them." (Jones, 1983)

Jones notes that researchers using this technique have two major groups of data sources; s/he can use existing data such as biographies, diaries and records and correspondence, or the researcher can generate data through some form of in-depth interview process

Young (1989), in an account of personal-story-telling in a medical environment, gives an example of the way in which the meaning of an individual's experience is communicated through "story telling". Her account of Dr. Malinowski, an Auschwitz survivor, shows him using storytelling - in this case his experiences in the Auschwitz concentration camp- to both explain his contemporary position (as someone with medical

problems) and to challenge established doctor-patient power relations. The account is both moving and exciting. Young describes an interpretation of discourse theory in which individuals move between multiple realities, in each of which experiences in another reality can be understood and explained. These "*different realms of being*" have their own values and constants. In the powerless position of a patient in a medical discourse, the presentation of self through narrative or story allows the patient to overcome an inferior power position without challenging the norms of the frame (Goffman, 1974) of doctor-patient interaction. In other words, through story-telling, not only can meaning be accessed but also control over the interaction. The importance of Young's contribution is her insistence that everyone has a tale to tell which communicates the meanings of her/his significant life experiences. Reason and Hawkins (1988) argue that there is a need for "*...a methodology of meaning-making as part of human inquiry*".

Such a methodology has been in existence for nearly four decades and is known as the Critical Incident technique (Flanagan, 1954). Flanagan describes the aims of critical incident as being:

"...a set of procedures for collecting direct observations of human behavior in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles"

Flanagan (1954) gives a comprehensive account of the background to the development of the technique, details of studies in which the use of critical incident technique has been validated and accounts of procedures for analysing observations.

Murray's (1989) account of runners' decisions for entering a marathon gives insight into the process of constructing explanation through story-telling. Asked to contextualise their decision and its context (using similar probe questions to those outlined by Flanagan, 1954, p.342), Murray's subjects produced responses which could be analysed through recourse to specific discourses relating to the life cycle. He identified these discourses as located in different positions within Harre's (1983) "identity projects" (see chapter 2). Within these, Murray found themes of "anti-structure"

(Turner, 1969) in the varied reasons given by, for example, his mid-life subjects related to their rejection of existing social identities. Hence for the female subject, Kate, the marathon became a rite of status elevation while for the male subject, David, it gave the opportunity to *escape* from the social hierarchies associated with his identity in a high-status occupation. Murray's work illustrates the ways in which communality of theme can be observed (in Flanagan's objective sense) through analysis of narrative accounts.

Flanagan's original description of the technique involved asking individual job-holders or supervisors to describe in terms of actual behaviour the activities which were critical to success or failure in a task. The technique has been adapted by numerous researchers since (Fivars, 1980); arguably the best known work is that of Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson and Capwell (1957) who, in the course of research into job satisfaction, developed a procedure in which subjects were asked to recall an incident which had made them pleased or dissatisfied at work and then describe the factors associated with that incident. Similar modifications to Critical Incident technique have been adopted more recently by Kitwood (1980) and French (1989).

The process of modifying the Critical Incident Technique for the purpose of this study is be discussed in detail in chapter 7. What is important about the technique is that it allows subjects to reflect on experiences which, while of their own choosing, have been nevertheless part of an ordinary working day ("critical" as used by Flanagan referred to the fundamental importance of the activity and not to any exciting, bizarre or unusual aspect of it).

Conclusion: decisions on methodology and summary of design

Consideration of the theoretical and methodological points discussed above led to the adoption of the research programme design represented in schematic form in Figure 3.1. A multi-stage approach was taken with each progressive stage informed in part by data collected at a previous stage but with temporal overlap. The initial stage of the research involved periods shadowing police officers and periods in residence at a police training centre, observing, taking field notes and collecting data from interviews with new recruits to the police service and with police instructors at the centre; these experiences formed a context within which to frame the design of specific probe items in the study .

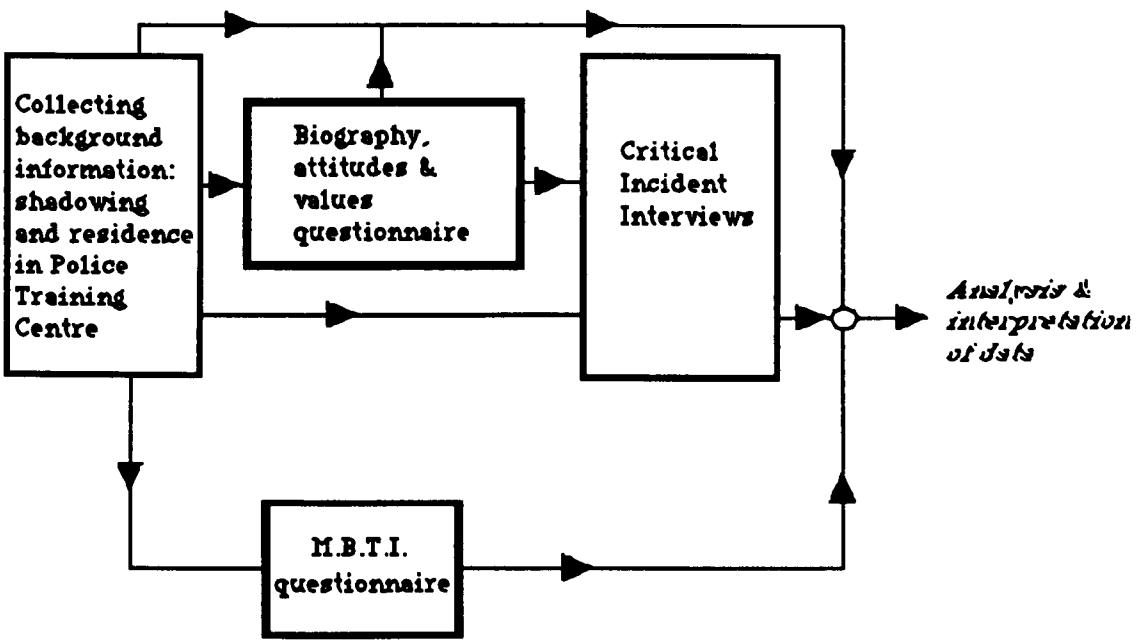

Fig 3.1 Schematic representation of the research process: stages in data acquisition and analysis.

The next phase of the research programme involved the postal distribution of a questionnaire and MBTI forms to a sample of policewomen drawn from three Forces, all of whom used the same Home Office Training Centre for initial training. The third phase involved the construction of a sampling frame from which twenty-four women were selected for interview. The interviews were conducted around responses to the Critical Incident Items

and are described in the chapter 7.

The details of each method are discussed in the appropriate chapter. The research tools selected and their usage were:

RESEARCH STAGES	DATA BASE
1 *The Questionnaire* which informed on	
a)Life History Data	*152 respondents from*
b) Work Value	*three forces*
c) Achievements and enjoyable aspects of work	
d) Beliefs about Police values	
e) Images of Work	
f) Socialisation (Force, Family etc.)	
2 *The M.B.T.I* . which informed on	
a) Work-Style Preferences	*152 respondents from*
b) Contradictions in self vs. police values	*three forces*
c) Preferred ways of dealing with the world	
3 *The Critical Incident Interviews* which informed on	
a) Police values	*24 subjects*
b) Content and contradictions of life at work	
c)Personal and Gender values	
4 *The new recruit interviews and observations*	
a) Background contextualising information	*3 weeks observation*

In the introduction to this chapter approaches to the study of identity in work were outlined. These approaches outlined were (1) the concept of role-modelling, (2) images of the work, (3) Socialisation, (4) Desirable and undesirable aspects of work, (5) Career biographies. The relation between the approaches to understanding identity described here and the chosen research tools is illustrated in Figure 3.2

Research Tool	Areas of Understanding
Questionnaire	Images of Policing Socialisation Desirable and Undesirable aspect of job Role Models
MBTI	Desirable and Undesirable aspects of job (workstyle preferences)
Interview	Images of Work Career biographies Role Models Socialisation Desirable and Undesirable aspects of job
Residence, Observation and Shadowing	Socialisation Images of Work Desirable and Undesirable aspects of job

Figure 3.2 Relationship between chosen research tools and approaches to understanding work-related identity

The conceptualisation of the research problem is illustrated in Figure 3.3. The factors informing identity as a female and identity as a police officer are explored in the research design through the questionnaire (Chapter 4 and Chapter 6). The personal predispositions and preferences are studied through the analysis of the MBTI data (Chapter 5); collectively these inform both the contradictions experienced by the female police officer and the strategies with which she responds to those contradictions.

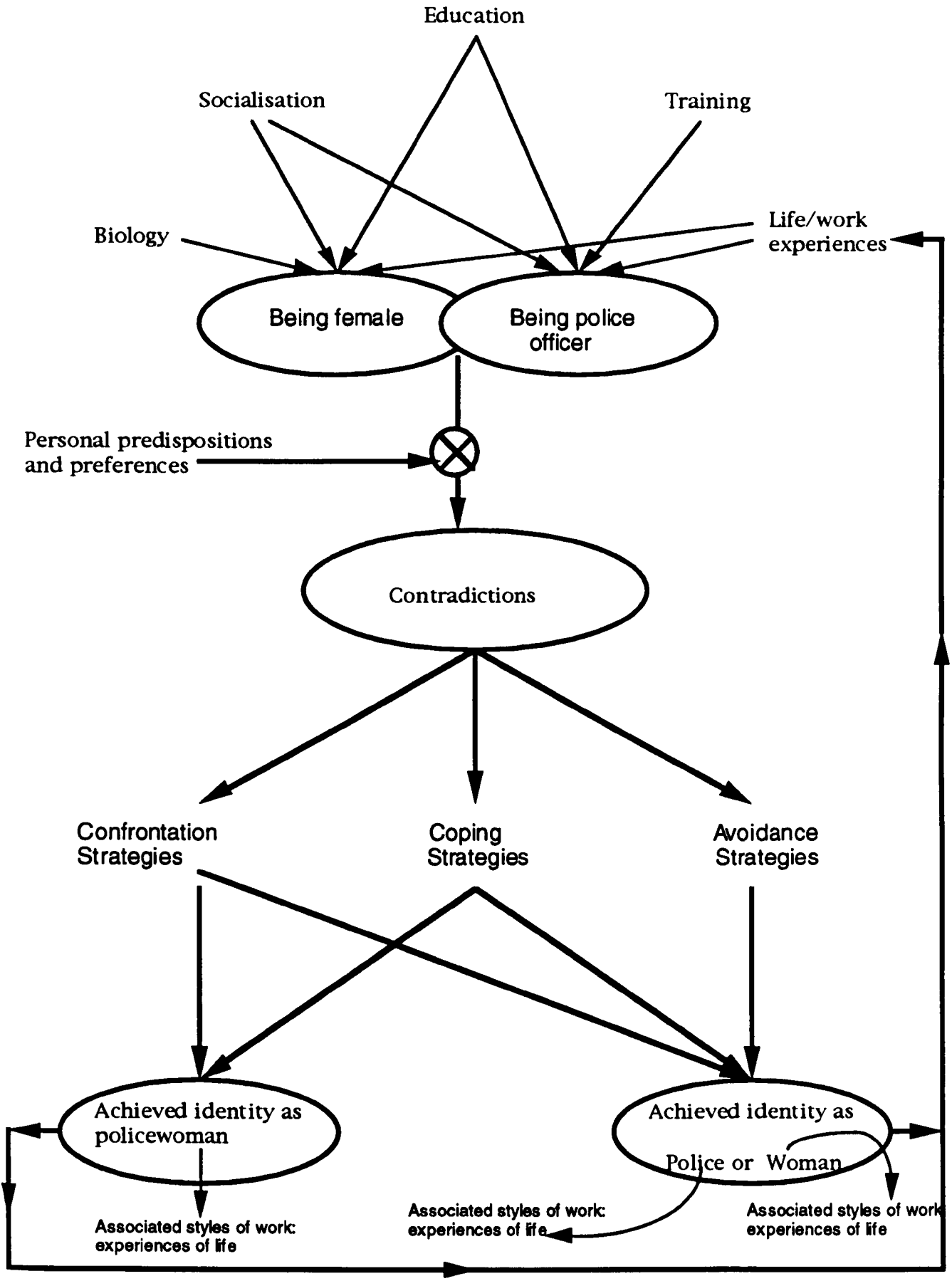

Fig 3.3 Schematic representation of the conceptualisation of the research problem.

Within these strategies, coping is viewed as a competence rather than as a tolerance and avoidance is viewed as a rejection of the contradictions. The later stages of the processes of identity are explored and explained through the use of the Critical Incident interviews (Chapter 7). It should be noted that within this conceptualisation of the research problem, biology contributes to the "being female" but does not prepare the female for the requirements of "being a police officer", and training contributes to "being a police officer" but does not prepare the woman for being a woman *and* a police officer.

It can be seen that the literature on identity views it, at any moment in an individual's life, as being a synthesis of experiences, conflicts and their resolution. Within this conceptual framework the design was implemented and data collected.[2]

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[1] Details of administration and method of analysis are described in chapter 5.

[2] Whilst qualitative analyses are generally grounded within a paradigmal base that is incommensurate with contemporary empirical research (see, e.g., Hollway, 1989) , the ability to assess certain gross parameters of a sample may serve to enhance such qualitative analyses through facilitating a broad demographic contextualisation of the data and thus providing potential caveats with respect to undue extrapolation from qualitative data. Kuhn (1962) has pointed out that discrete paradigms are incommensurable and that concepts from one paradigm cannot simply be adopted within a competing paradigm (see also Feyerabend, 1975). However, whilst the two paradigms may be incommensurate they may nevertheless be *articulated* without philosophical or conceptual terrains being violated. Thus the research strategy employed explicitly attempted to integrate *results* obtained by methodologies located in discrete paradigms whilst recognising the intrinsic independence of their respective conceptual apparatus.

Chapter 4

WOMEN POLICE OFFICERS IN THREE FORCES: BASIC BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Introduction

The police force in the United Kingdom is a federal force; individual Police Authorities and Chief Constables determine policy on issues such as deployment of personnel, policing priorities, and equal opportunities etc.. It was hoped that biographical information would reveal the extent to which a federal structure related to any national heterogeneity of women's gross experiences. It appears reasonable to assume that differences between forces in factors such as age on entry, marital status, education on entry and patterns of deployment within the police service may be cogent with respect to women's accounts of their own subjective experiences within individual forces .

The purpose of this part of the study was to gain empirical data, through a dedicated questionnaire, that would facilitate an understanding of the background of women prior to their entry to the police service, their education, their sources of information about the police, their beliefs and expectations with respect to policework, the nature of the work they did within the police service and their aspirations. It was also intended to elicit primary information about experiences in the police which were directly related to gender.

Methods

Questionnaire design

The primary aim of the questionnaire was to obtain biographical data. Much of the instrument was therefore constructed using closed-format forced-choice techniques by employing checklist, Likert, and binary decision task protocols. Additionally, open formats were used to elicit further relevant qualitative data.

The questionnaire may be characterised by two substantive areas of enquiry. Firstly, data relating to general parameters e.g., age, marital status and educational qualifications were obtained. Secondly, information relating specifically to police work, e.g. rank, specific duties and career plans was obtained. The categories for specific duties were selected on the basis of findings reported by Martin (1979) and Jones (1986).

Sampling techniques

The samples were drawn from three Police Forces (Forces S, D and W) whose officers attended the same Police Training School in the first fourteen weeks of their service (I spent several periods of observation at this establishment in the initial stages of this research). The rationale for this was two-fold. Firstly , it would eliminate differences in policing values and perspectives which might arise from different cultures prevalent in different training establishments. Fielding (1988) has elaborated the importance of initial training in establishing values, norms and mores of behaviour in officers. Secondly, it made access to officers at a later stage of the study easier since the geographical spread was smaller.

Permission was obtained from the Forces involved to send questionnaires to their currently serving female officers. The number of female officers approached was 225, 85 and 75 in forces S, D and W respectively. Each woman was sent a questionnaire and a Myers-Briggs Type Inventory (MBTI). A covering letter explaining the nature of the research was included. A follow-up letter was sent one month after the initial communication (see Appendix A for questionnaire, and the covering and follow-up letters). The officers were asked to return their completed questionnaires directly to me using a pre-paid addressed envelope.

Data acquisition

The three forces differed in the ways in which they wished their officers to be approached. Force (S) provided a list of female officers, their ranks and their current postings and gave me permission to approach all officers

currently serving in the Force area directly. Forces D and W insisted on sending the questionnaires from their respective headquarters. The response rates were 36.44% (N=82), 41.12% (N=35) and 46.67% (N=35) for Forces S, D and W respectively.

Results

Age and marital status

The mean age of the sample was 27.8 years (SEM = 0.50) with a range of 19-47 years. A one way ANOVA revealed no significant differences between forces. The breakdown of age for individual forces and related ANOVA summary may be found in Appendix B. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of policewomen in each Force by age.

The lack of any significant difference between forces suggests that the samples may be treated as being derived from the same population with respect to age and that differences in other respects may not be attributed to age differences between women in the different forces. A further ANOVA comparing age and length of service and police force revealed no significant interaction effect of the three variables (Appendix B).

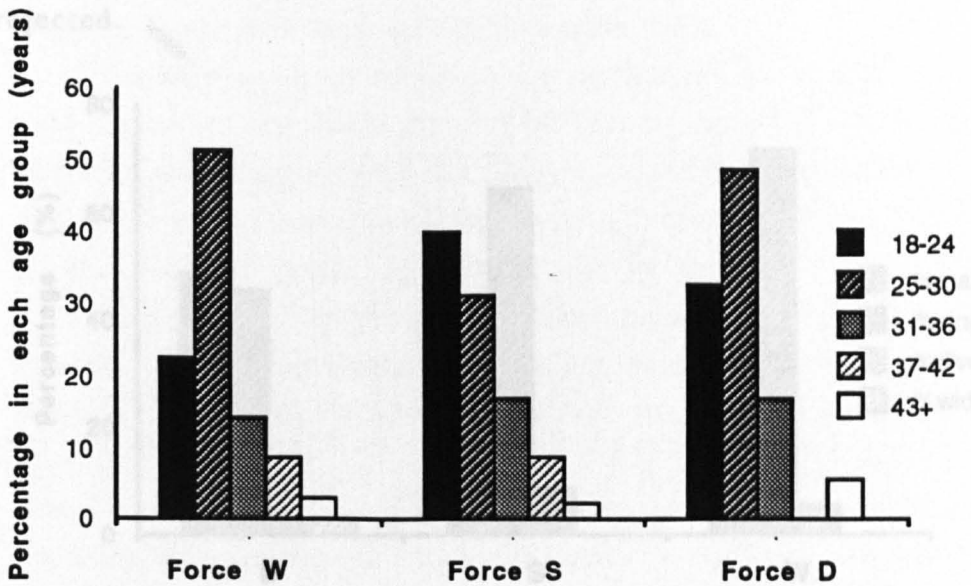

Fig. 4.1 Age distributions of policewomen in each Force.

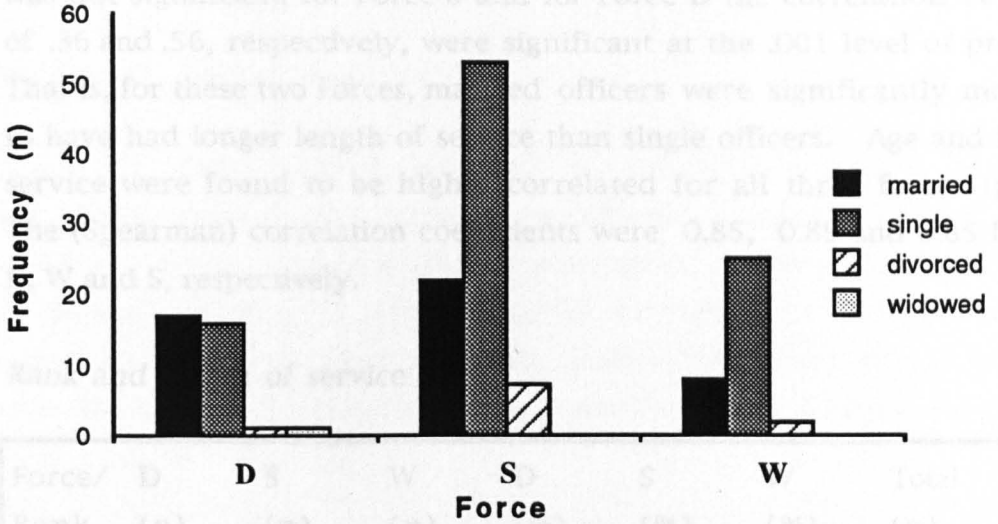

Fig. 4.2 Breakdown of marital status by force.

Figures 4.2 and 4.33 show the marital status of women officers in the three forces. On visual inspection the data suggests a difference in the pattern of marital status between forces with Force D having the highest proportion of married serving officers. Examination using the Chi-square statistic produced a value of Chi-square of 8.61 (6 d.f.); since the critical value at the .05 significance level is 12.59 the hypothesis that there was an overall significant difference in the pattern of marital status between the forces was rejected.

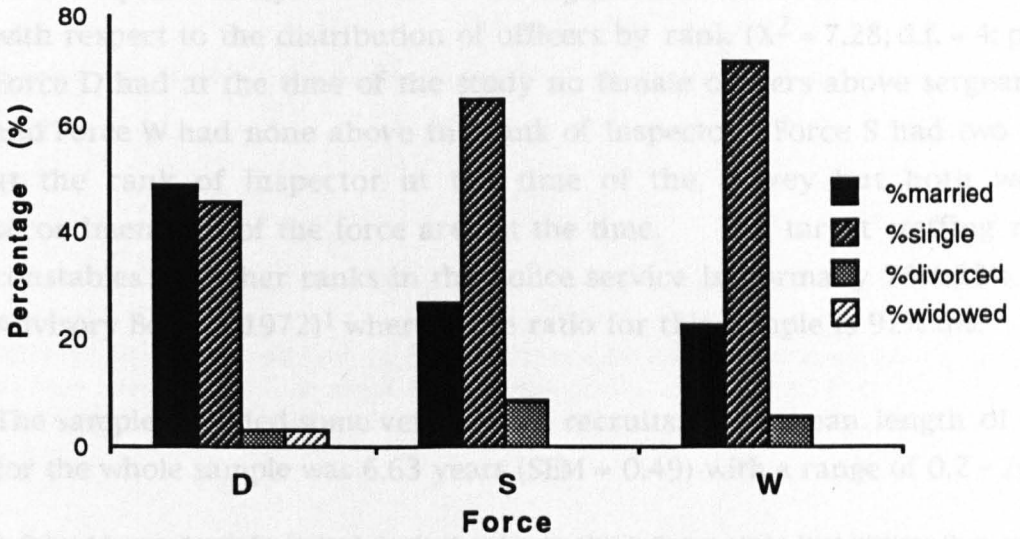

Fig. 4.3 Breakdown of marital status by Force: percentage in each category

The relationship between marital status and length of service was examined using Spearman correlation. For Force W the correlation coefficient of .41 was not significant; for Force S and for Force D the correlation coefficients of .36 and .56, respectively, were significant at the .001 level of probability. That is, for these two Forces, married officers were significantly more likely to have had longer length of service than single officers. Age and length of service were found to be highly correlated for all three forces ($p<0.001$). The (Spearman) correlation coefficients were 0.85, 0.89 and 0.85 for Forces D, W and S, respectively.

Rank and length of service

Force/ Rank	D (n)	S (n)	W (n)	D (%)	S (%)	W (%)	Total (n)	Total (%)
Constable	32	76	32	91.5	93	91.5	140	92
Sergeant	3	5	1	8.5	6	3	9	6
Inspector	0	0	2	0	0	6	2	1.3
Super-intendent	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0.7

Table 4.1 Distribution of officers by rank for all three forces.

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of officers by rank. A number of respondents reported being acting sergeants although their substantive rank was constable. Similarly a number had passed promotion exams to Inspector level but were still in constable rank.

A Chi-square analysis revealed no significant differences between forces with respect to the distribution of officers by rank ($X^2 = 7.28$; d.f. = 4; $p>0.05$). Force D had at the time of the study no female officers above sergeant rank and Force W had none above the rank of Inspector. Force S had two women at the rank of Inspector at the time of the survey but both were on secondment out of the force area at the time. The target staffing ratio of constables to higher ranks in the police service is normally 75%:25% (Police Advisory Boards, 1972)[1] whereas the ratio for this sample is 92%:6%.

The sample included some very recent recruits. The mean length of service for the whole sample was 6.63 years (SEM = 0.49) with a range of 0.2 - 26.4

1 Police Advisory Boards for England, Scotland and Wales (1972) *Report of the Joint Working Party on the Rank Structure of the Police* London: HMSO

years. An analysis of variance showed no significant difference in length of service between the three forces (Appendix B).

Educational background

A Kruskall Wallis ANOVA revealed no significant differences between the three forces sampled with respect to qualifications achieved prior to entry to the police service (Appendix B). A summary of the educational qualifications of recruits on entry is also found in Appendix B. In total 39 of the respondents (26%) had gained further qualifications since joining the police force. The numbers in individual forces were: Force D = 7 (20%); Force S = 24 (29%); Force W = 8 (23%).

Specific duties

Category /Force	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
D	66	3	9	6	0	0	0	17
W	71	3	9	9	0	0	6	3
S	70	2	11	5	1	2	1	7

Table 4.2 Percentage of subjects in each force sampled in each occupational category. The categories were uniformed patrol (1), community constable (2), CID (3), Traffic (4), communications (5), juvenile liaison/crime prevention (6), Senior Officer HQ/Division (7), specialist squad (8).

Category / Force	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
D	23	2	3	2	0	0	0	6
W	25	1	3	3	0	0	2	1
S	57	2	9	4	1	2	1	6

Table 4.3 Number of subjects in each force sampled in each occupational category. The categories were uniformed patrol (1), community constable (2), CID (3), Traffic (4), communications (5), juvenile liaison/crime prevention (6), Senior Officer HQ/Division (7), specialist squad (8).

Data relating to occupation within the police force is presented in table 4.2 (percentages of officers in each occupational category) and in table 4.3

(numbers of officers in each occupational category). The categories in the questionnaire were selected on the basis of findings reported by Martin (1979) and Jones(1986) on the duties of policewomen. The relevance of the categories to this sample of officers and to the study as a whole is discussed in Chapter 8

Due to the low expected frequencies in some cells, certain categories were combined and treated as a single category (Cochran, 1954). The regrouping of categories is recommended where there is a rationale for the regrouping in cases where expected frequencies are below 5 in more than 20% of cells and where there are cells in which the expected frequency is zero (Siegel, 1956). This re-categorising does not affect the power of the Chi-square statistic (Cochran, 1952).

Categories 1 (uniformed patrol officer) and 2 (community constable) were combined. These labels reflect similar activity and status within the police service; it may be that the choice of the self-label "uniformed patrol" or "community police officer" reflect the personal values of the woman with respect to policing or it may reflect a wider ideological value to community policing within a force. At this stage of analysis this can only be a matter for speculation and will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Categories 4 (Traffic) and 8 (Specialist Squads) were combined; these reflected work roles and activities which were outside the scope of work of uniformed officers but in which the policewoman retained contact with the public and dealt directly with crime.

Categories 5 (Communications), 6 (Crime prevention/Juvenile Liaison) and 7 (HQ Senior Officer) were combined. This new category reflects a grouping of occupations which are concerned with administrative/ support roles in which direct contact with crime and criminals is only a small part of the work. The category Training/Personnel had no responses.

After the above re-grouping Chi-square analysis indicated that there were no significant differences between forces with respect to the allocation of women officers to specific duties (X^2= 4.79; d.f. = 6; $p > 0.01$).

Major Sources of Information about careers in Policing

Information was obtained as to the major source of information about policework for this group of women prior to their entry to the service.

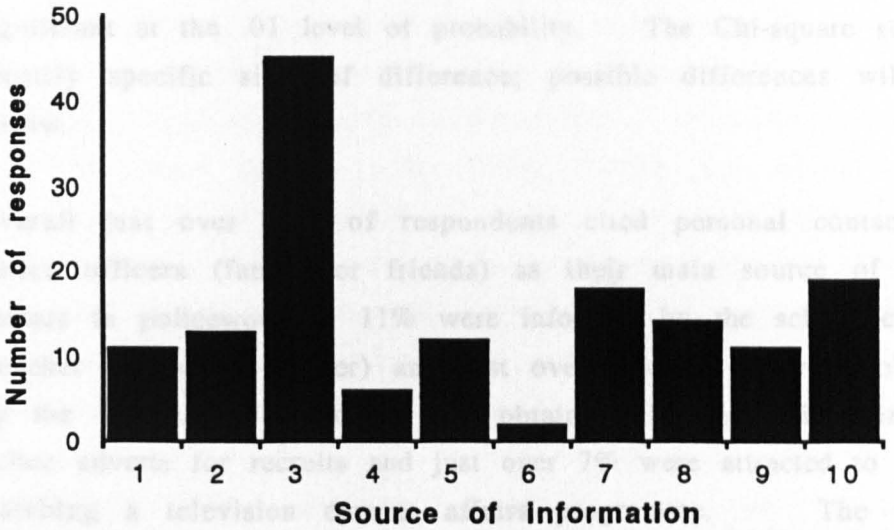

Fig. 4.4 Major sources of information on policework, prior to joining the police (all forces). The categories of information sources were parent (police officer) (1), relation(police officer) (2), friend (police officer) (3), family/friend (not police officer) (4), advertisement (5), Schoolteacher (6), Careers Officer (7), Careers Booklet (8), TV current affairs programme (9), other (10).

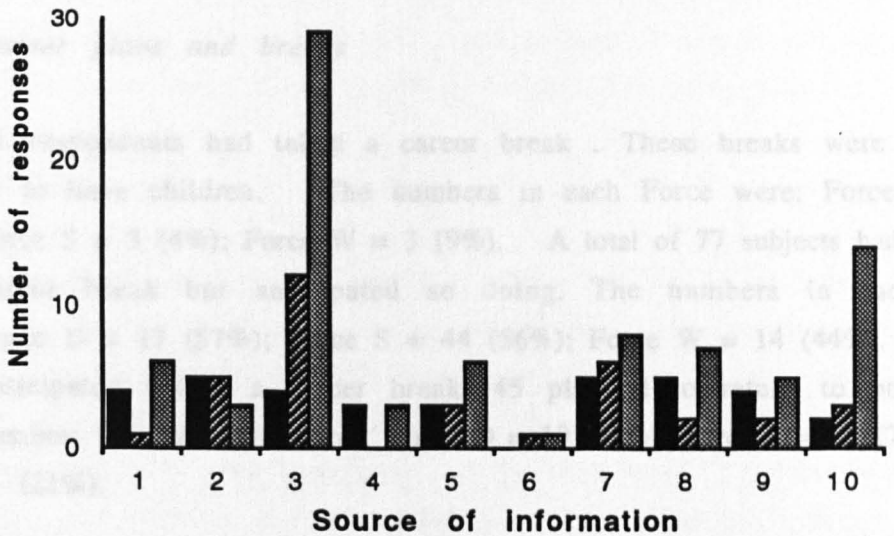

Fig. 4.5 Major sources of information on policework prior to joining the police (shown by Force). The categories of information sources were parent (police officer) (1), relation(police officer) (2), friend (police officer) (3), family/friend (not police officer) (4), advertisement (5), Schoolteacher (6), Careers Officer (7), Careers Booklet (8), T.V. current affairs programme (9), other (10).

An examination of the data using the Chi-square statistic showed a significant difference between forces in the major source of information. Because of the low response rate for category 6 this category was combined (Cochran, 1954) with category 7 (new category being "careers direction/information in school"). The chi-square value of 33.98 (16 d.f.) was significant at the .01 level of probability. The Chi-square statistic does not identify specific sites of difference; possible differences will be discussed below.

Overall just over 45% of respondents cited personal contact with serving police officers (family or friends) as their main source of information on careers in policework. 11% were informed by the school careers provision (teacher or careers officer) and just over 9% by careers booklets distributed by the various police forces. 8% obtained all their initial information from police adverts for recruits and just over 7% were attracted to the police after watching a television current affairs programme. The remainder were informed by friends or family, by casual conversation with a police officer on the beat or were suggested policework as a career after enquiries about careers in other occupations (examples included the Army, nursing and banking).

Career plans and breaks

11 respondents had taken a career break . These breaks were to change jobs or to have children. The numbers in each Force were: Force D = 5 (14%); Force S = 3 (4%); Force W = 3 (9%). A total of 77 subjects had not yet taken a career break but anticipated so doing. The numbers in each Force were: Force D = 17 (57%); Force S = 44 (56%); Force W = 14 (44%). Of those who anticipated taking a career break, 45 planned to return to policework. The numbers in each Force were: Force D = 10 (59%); Force S = 32 (73%); Force W = 3 (21%).

Discussion

Age and marital Status

There was no overall significant difference between the forces for ages of their female officers. However examination of the data shows that for Force D the pattern of distribution of married and single officers was different, in that the proportion of married officers in the sample was much higher. The problems faced by married female officers which have contributed to the relatively small number in the police service were discussed in chapter 1; these included varying shifts, (a problem exacerbated when the husband was also a police officer) compulsory overtime, inadequate childcare provision and implicit and overt hostility towards married women officers expressed by male officers. These factors were reported by women officers during the critical incident interviews (chapter 7). It is notable that the force which had the high proportion of married women was one with a largely rural constituency with a preference for local recruits and with a reputation for keeping its personnel for a long period of service. Interviews with women officers from this force (chapter 7) illustrate the extent to which the level of support received from colleagues and superior officers is relied on although its pattern of provision is inconsistent. An interesting aspect of the biographical data obtained in response to these questions is that, for women, policing appears to be a single person's occupation, a feature identified by Jones (1986) who noted that policewomen between the ages of 24 and 35 years were more likely to be unmarried than were male colleagues.

Rank

The ranks attained by female officers has been identified in the literature (e.g. Jones, 1986) as a major source of disillusion and annoyance with the police service. In the interviews also (chapter 7) this emerged as an issue. Women officers see themselves as disproportionately confined to the rank of constable - a view supported by these data. Interestingly the perspective of male officers is very different; they see women officers as experiencing **positive** discrimination. At the Police Training Centre where new recruits from the forces surveyed in this study underwent initial training, a small group of women was pointed to by a male instructor with the comment "that's

the ration of sergeants and inspectors from this intake". This seems to suggest that policemen, as well as policewomen, are anomic (Moscovici, 1976) - insecure in their status and hostile to outgroups - and hence that, in relating to the women as out-group members, they are more aware of policewomen in roles which do not conform to stereotyped expectations than they are of the men who are conforming to such expectations (Tajfel, 1978). Thus the rare woman sergeant is "noticed" more than her male counterpart.

Part of any frustration on the part of policewomen might be explained by a) the generally high level of academic achievement prior to entry compared to male entrants and b) the fact that many had passed promotion examinations to inspector level while remaining in the rank of constable. Since this part of the questionnaire did not investigate attitudes to rank, promotion etc. it is not appropriate in this section to do more than note the very low proportion of women in any rank other than constable.

Educational background

Over one third of the sample (36%) were qualified to GCE A-level or above. This is a high level of educational attainment and reflects a common experience of women in "male" jobs that they are typically more highly qualified than their male counterparts (Spencer and Podmore, 1989). The results certainly sustain the view of Martin (1979) that policewoman actively choose a police career, in the sense that they have abilities and opportunities for taking up alternative careers of equal or higher status and remuneration. Such academic achievement has associated with it the potential for frustration with the highly structured and hierarchical nature of the police service on the part of motivated and bright employees. Counterposed to this is the view that in contemporary Britain, the opportunities for women for a career carrying such a salary are limited and hence women with the ability to pass the rigourous selection procedures will accept those limitations which are placed on her work.

Specific Duties

The majority of women in the sample were uniformed patrol officers (70%) with only 7% in traffic and 10% in CID. This reflects the findings of other researchers (e.g. Jones, 1986; Corns, 1988) that women do not gain entry to the specialist areas of policing either because of a lack of desire or more frequently because their attempts are blocked. One officer interviewed for this study stated that in one traffic division of her force there were no women because the Chief Superintendent was reputed to believe that women did not make good drivers.

Sources of Information

By far the greatest single source of information about policing was a parent or relation who was a serving police officer. Other studies (Arcuri, 1976; Martin, 1979) have found that a high proportion of police entrants had family connections with the police (Arcuri's figure was 69%) and Reiner (1978) noted that there was a tendency for joining the police to "*run in the family*".

These findings could reflect either a) popular prejudices about the "masculinity" of policework, b) the extension of these prejudices to careers teachers/officers, c) ignorance on the part of careers teachers/officers, d) lack of effective targeting of police recruitment campaigns or e) a reluctance on the part of women to enter a non-traditional career. It is possible that those women who had relatives with some police experience received a more informed account of the potential of a career in policing. However even amongst this group, comments in later parts of the questionnaire such as "*my dad (a police officer) said I wouldn't last training*" showed that not all police officers presented a positive view of policing as a career for daughters/nieces - indeed given the level of opposition to policewomen on the part of male officers reported by researchers such as Jones (1986) and Remmington (1984), it would be surprising if this were to be the case.

Career plans and breaks

An immediately interesting feature to emerge from this section is the contrast between expectations of being able to take career breaks and the actual experiences of women who had taken breaks. There was a significant difference between forces in the number of women who had taken breaks, with force D having a higher percentage of women who had successfully so done; however it was in the other two forces in which the women had the greatest expectation of taking a break and returning to policework at a later date. At the time of the survey Force W discouraged women from taking breaks and returning to policework although there was no definite ban on so doing. The contrast between expectations and actuality could lie in a misperception on the part of women officers of the extent to which their Forces were committed to equal opportunities, which must have emerged either as a consequence of stated Force policy, the police culture prevalent within the Force or from their own material experiences as serving policewomen. It is interesting to note that of the three forces, Force S had a high profile in publicly committing itself to equal opportunities. These factors are explored further in chapter 7.

General conclusions

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these results is the relative homogeneity of biographical parameters across forces. The results show no significant differences between forces with respect to age, length of service, allocation of specific duties or educational background. Nor are there significant differences between forces with respect to the relationship between rank and length of service. This latter finding indicates that any homogeneity between forces extends beyond recruitment policies and also has a bearing upon at least one aspect of women's experience inside police force.

It is somewhat surprising that a Federal organisation whose policies are largely made at a local level nevertheless fails to exhibit differences in any of the areas outlined above. Such homogeneity may be the result of one of

two (or both) mechanisms. Firstly, the homogeneity may be the result of some underlying "corporate strategy" which is common to federal units. Secondly, it may be the result of a process of self-selection related to wider cultural and socio-economic variables. One may speculate that both of these factors are likely to have some bearing on the present results. However, the present data precludes anything other than speculation on this matter.

The main aim of the present investigation was to establish the nature of the sample and to allow a more informed analysis of subsequently acquired qualitative data. It is concluded that there is no reason to believe that gross demographic parameters are likely to confound qualitative analysis. On the basis of the nature of the data it seems reasonable to consider all members of the sample as policewomen, regardless of their employing Force since, as is noted above, it appears that there are no significant differences between forces with respect to the service-related criteria examined.

The biographical data obtained is informative as to the nature of the police work experience for policewomen, both in its own right and as a basis for later stages of the research.

Chapter 5

JUNGIAN TYPE AND POLICEWOMEN: PATTERNS OF PREFERENCE

Introduction

The concept of Psychological Type

In the Introduction to "Psychological Types" (1971) Jung noted that:

"*...the fate of one individual is determined more by the objects of his interest, while in another it is determined more by his own inner self, by the subject..... we naturally tend to understand everything in terms of our own type*".

Jung was asserting that his theory of Type, on which the Myers-Briggs Type Inventory is based, was a theory of *preference* in interactions with the world rather than a theory of *character*; in other words' Jung's theory of personality is one in which all individuals have the ability to use the styles characteristic of both polarities of a Type, such as introvert and extravert, but in which inevitably a dominant preference leads to one of the two polarities dominating an individual's interactions with the physical, social and mental world.

Jung's original Theory of Type postulated the existence of three dimensions of preference, Extraversion-Introversion, Sensation-Intuition and Thinking-Feeling. On the basis of their own research on personality and their reinterpretation of Jung's works, Myers and Briggs identified a fourth dimension, that of Perception-Judgement (Myers and Myers, 1980).

The concept underpinning Type Theory is that variation in human behaviour reflects (a few) basic differences (processes) in mental functioning, which concern the way people prefer to use their minds. The four differences concern the use of perception and judgement. They refer to the orientation of the dominant process to the outer world (E) or the inner world (I) of ideas (EI scale), to the preferred way of taking in information oriented towards facts and reality (S) or towards meanings and possibilities (N) (SN scale), to the preferred way of reaching a conclusion either objectively and logically (T) or through reference to values and

relationships (F) (TF scale) and to the preferred attitude towards the external world which will be either oriented towards a planned, organised existence (J) or one which is more flexible and spontaneous (P) (JP scale).

The combination of preferences allows each individual to be considered as belonging to one of sixteen Psychological Types, each type indicating the preference along the four dimensions. For each type there are associated preferences for occupation, interests and also preferred ways of interacting and of dealing with everyday life and its problems. These preferences produce the individual's interactional style.

For each individual there will be a dominant process and an auxiliary; the dominant is used in the individual's preferred energising process (thus for an E the dominant process will be directed to the outer world and for an I it will be directed to the inner world) and the auxiliary will be used as balance in the less-preferred world. Thus the success of an E's achievements in the inner world of ideas will depend on the effective development of the auxiliary, and the success of an I in dealing with the outer world will depend on the development of her auxiliary; if inadequately developed the outer life will be awkward. Since subjective experience is mediated by experience in the material (outer) world, there is a more obvious penalty for introverts who fail to develop an effective auxiliary than for an extravert in a similar position (Myers and Myers, 1980).

If the dominant process is a judging one (ie if the individual has a preference for conclusions and order rather than for experiencing and going with the flow of that experience) then the auxiliary will be a perceptive one; similarly a dominant perceptive process will have an auxiliary judgmental one. In extraverts the dominant process, being oriented to the outer world is visible and easily identifiable. For an introvert this is not the case; s/he will be dealing with the outer world with the auxiliary and the dominant (ie the best-developed) process will only show if an event is important to the introverts inner world. The result is, as Myers and Myers (1980) say, a paradox. Introverts whose dominant process is, for example, a judging one will not seem to the world to be concerned with judgement because the outer world will be dominated by perception (either sensing or intuition). Thus only when something very important to the

inner world happens will the judgmental attitude emerge and at such a moment this introvert will take what appears , in the context of previous behaviours and life-history, to be a startlingly positive stance.

In terms of both career and every-day life events one would expect the dominant process of an introvert to emerge only when personal values are stimulated or challenged. It is not possible to assume from everyday contact with an introvert exactly what really matters to that person; when what matters is discovered it is likely to be unexpected, and in a context which produces decisive action and possibly conflict. Margerison's (1982) summary of the four dimensions and the eight factors of Type Theory is shown in Fig. 5.1.

Relating	
E Extravert Preference	*I Introvert Preference*
Prefers to live life in contact with others and things.	Prefers to be more self-contained and work things out personally.
Understanding	
S Sensing Preference	*N Intuition Preference*
Puts emphasis on facts, details and concrete knowledge.	Puts more emphasis on possibilities, imagination, creativity and seeing things as a whole.
Deciding	
T Thinking Preference	*F Feeling preference*
Puts emphasis on analysis using logic, rationality and powers of deduction.	Puts emphasis on human values, establishing personal friendships, decisions mainly on beliefs and likes/dislikes.
Prioritising	
J Judging Preference	*P Perceiving Preference*
Puts emphasis on order through reaching decisions and resolving issues; a well structured and organised approach to getting things done.	Puts emphasis on gathering information and obtaining as much data as possible; a high tolerance for ambiguity.

Figure 5.1 Summary of key elements of Types (from Margerison 1982)

Jungian Type theory predicts that one of the consequences of differences in type is that there will be predictable patterns of career choice, relating to strengths and preferences demonstrated by an individual's type. Thus type theory has provided the theoretical framework for exploring patterns of career choice (Thomas, 1989), career progress (Roush, 1989), and experienced stress (Garden, 1989), as well as being used as a means of predicting skills and strengths in order to develop an individual within a particular career (Cacioppe and Mock, 1985). The MBTI is used for the latter purpose by many organisations (Stockton, 1984).

Data on the distribution of Type in police officers has been obtained from several sources. Myers and McCaulley (1985) compiled a list of distribution of types in over 200 occupations. For police officers the distribution on Extravert-Introvert dimension was more or less even (E=49.8%, I=50.32%); it was not stated what proportion of the sample (if any) was female. On the Sensing-Intuition dimension the distribution was S=85.15% and N=14.84%; in other words Police Officers are oriented towards a preference for dealing with facts and realities rather than with associations and possibilities. The Thinking-Feeling dimension shows a predominant preference for T (68.39% of sample) over F (31.61%). The Judgement-Perception dimension shows a predominance of Judging types (66.45%) over Perceptive types (33.55%). Table 5.2 shows the percentage of police officers in each of the sixteen types.

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
21.29	**10.32**	**.65**	**1.94**
ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
5.81	**6.45**	**.65**	**3.23**
ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
8.39	**3.23**	**1.29**	**4.52**
ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
21.94	**7.74**	**1.29**	**1.29**

Table 5.2 Percentage distribution of police officers by MBTI Type (Myers & McCaulley, 1985).

Kakabadse and Dainty (1988) reported that in a sample of 49 British senior police officers, the majority were oriented towards extraversion (79%),

sensing (51%), Thinking (60%) and Judgement (51%). While the direction of the difference between preferences does not differ from those reported by Cacioppe and Mock in studies of Australian and US police officers the proportion showing particular preferences does differ; Cacioppe and Mock found the preference for thinking over perceiving to be greater in their samples than did Kakabadse and Dainty; Kakabadse and Dainty conclude that their findings show that:

"*In contrast to certain commonly held stereotypes, UK police chief officers are identified as appreciably more people-oriented, creative and attempt to reach balanced and thought through decisions, than their Australian and American counterparts and private sector executives..... in terms of new approaches... and sensitivity to people, UK chief officers are potentially more capable of addressing such issues. The manner in which such matters are likely to be handled will probably be more thoughtful.*"

Cacioppe and Mock (1985) suggest that the predominant type involved in police work is the introverted-sensing-thinking-judgement type (ISTJ); such an individual prefers to concentrate on facts which can be verified and impersonally analysing these through logical step-by-step processes. These individuals are thorough in carrying out plans, practical and pragmatic. Cacioppe and Mock also note the large proportion of extraverted-sensing-thinking-judgement types, whose characteristics are strength of purpose and forcefulness, something which they suggest may explain the macho-image common in policemen and the rigid set of (male) values found often in police groups explained by the dominance of the thinking-judging (TJ) type.

The assumption when using the MBTI for career counselling or to analyse individual career histories is that one of the most important motivations for career choice is a desire for work which is satisfying and which will permit use of the preferred functions with little dependence on the less-preferred functions (Myers and McCaulley, 1985). Jones (1986) noted that personal satisfaction and development was of major importance for women choosing a career in policing. Thus an exploration of Type in women police officers would develop from an understanding of both the nature of police work, in both uniformed and specialist units, and an appreciation of those skills and styles likely to be used and valued in police work, and also an understanding

of the expectations and motivations of policewomen with respect to their work.

The purpose of this study was to identify the preferences of women police officers as indicated by their psychological Type, to establish the nature of the characteristic Type (if any) for women police officers and to examine the relationship between Type and biographical data discussed in chapter four. The data obtained in this part of the study will also be discussed in Chapter seven in the context of interviews with serving police officers.

Method

Subjects were contacted using a postal questionnaire (for details see previous chapter). They were asked to complete Form G of the Myers-Briggs Type Inventory. One hundred and fiftytwo responses were received, thirtyfive from Force W, thirtyfive from Force D and eightytwo from Force S.

Results

The data obtained from the MBTI questionnaires were analysed and the results interpreted for the whole sample; the data were then analysed by force to investigate any between-force differences. The purpose was to obtain an understanding of work preference as reflected by MBTI type (see above) for policewomen as a whole and also to examine the relationship between Force and preference, specialism and preference and career progress and preferences. The MBTI has not previously been used as a tool to investigate policewomen; however type and stress in "minority" women has been studied (Garden, 1991) as has type and career progress in male police officers (Cacioppe and Mock, 1985).

Overall Sample

Figure 5.2 illustrates the distribution of type for the sample as a whole (n=152). The types occurring most frequently were the ESTP, ESTJ, ESFP and ISTJ types. The types occurring least frequently were INFJ, ENTJ, INTJ, INFP,

INTP and ISFP.

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
15	13	0	3
(9.9%)	(8.6%)	(0%)	(2.0%)
ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
12	5	4	5
(7.9%)	(3.3%)	(2.6%)	(3.3%)
ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
21	18	11	6
(13.8%)	(11.8%)	(7.2%)	(3.9%)
ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
19	12	6	2
(12.5%)	(7.9%)	(3.9%)	(1.3%)

Fig. 5.2 Distribution of Type in numbers and in percentages for whole sample of policewomen.

If the distribution of Type were by chance then 9.5 individuals would be expected to be found in each category from this sample. Since Type theory assumes an unequal distribution of Type, expected frequencies were calculated based on the statistics on distribution of Type held by the MBTI data bank (Myers and McCaulley, 1985) based on a sample of 16,880 females using Form G. Figure 5.3 shows the expected and actual frequencies for each type. The expected frequency refers to the frequency one would expect for each type if the sample reflected the female population as a whole.

The Chi-square statistic was used to analyse the data; a value for Chi-square of 107.56 was found. This is significant at the .001 level (critical value 37.7, 15 degrees of freedom). It is concluded that distribution of type in this sample of policewomen differs significantly from the distribution in the general population of females. On inspection the categories which appear to deviate most from expected frequencies are the Types ESTP, ESFP, ESTJ and ISTP (more cases than expected) and Types INFJ, INTJ, INFP, ENFP and ENTJ (fewer cases than expected). A difference of plus or minus one third of the expected

frequency was taken as the indicator of deviation. Possible explanations are considered in the discussion section below.

	ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
Actual freq.	15	13	0	3
Expected freq.	14.85	15.66	7.25	6.08
	ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
Actual freq.	12	5	4	5
Expected freq.	4.06	6.5	9.6	4.86
	ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
Actual freq.	21	18	11	6
Expected freq.	4.23	8.71	14.9	6.24
	ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
Actual freq.	19	12	6	2
Expected freq.	15.31	16.2	9.7	7.86

Fig. 5.3 Actual and predicted frequency in each MBTI category.

Distribution of Preferences on the individual scales

IE preference

The MBTI looks at preferences; therefore a categorisation as a particular type reflects preference rather than an exclusion of the alternative orientation. Also categorisation of individuals as, for example, "E" may reflect a very great or very slight preferential commitment to an extravert orientation.

The IE scale (see above) refers to the preferences of individuals for drawing energy from either the internal, introverted (I) or external, extraverted (E) world ie. whether the individual is oriented towards ideas and emotions or towards people and activities.

In this sample 95 women (62.5%) showed a preference for E and 57 women

(37.5%) displayed a preference for I. In the population of women sampled by the MBTI Data Bank was found that a preference for I was held by 45.3% of the population and a preference for E by 54.7%.

The Chi-square statistic was applied to the data; the value for Chi-square was 4.12 which is significant at the .05 level (1df). It is concluded that there is a significant difference between the distribution of E and I preferences in this sample and the distribution in the general population of females.

SN Preferences

The SN preference scale refers to the preferences individuals have for attending to and assimilating information; Sensing refers to a preference for taking in information via the senses and noticing what is actual and N (iNtuition) refers to taking in information through what Myers calls a "sixth sense" and attending to possibilities and potentials, preferring theory to actuality.

In this sample S was the preferred mode of 115 (75.66%) of the women and N was preferred by 37 (24.34%). In the female population data held by the MBTI data bank the percentage preferences are 56.25% preferring S and 43.75% preferring N.

The Chi-Square statistic was applied to the data; the value for chi-square was 23.26 which is significant at the .001 level (1df). It was concluded that this sample differed significantly from the general population of females in the distribution of preferences for S and N.

TF Preferences

The TF scale refers to preferred style in decision making; Thinking reflects a preference for organising information in a logical, objective way and Feeling refers to a preference for decision making oriented towards personal values.

In this sample 83 (54.6%) women showed a preference for Thinking and 69 (45.4%) women preferred Feeling. In the data for females held by the MBTI Data Bank, T was preferred by 41.77% and F was the preferred mode of 58.23%.

The Chi-square statistic was applied to the data; the chi-square value was 13.73 which is significant at the .001 level (1 df). It was concluded that for this sample the distribution of T and F type differed significantly from the distribution in the general population of females.

JP Preferences

The JP scale reflects preferred ways for living and lifestyle planning. Preference for Judgement reflects a preference for a planned and organised life; Perception preference reflects a desire for living a more spontaneous and flexible life.

In this sample 70 (46%) women were of the J type and 82 (54%) were classified as P type. In the data on females held by the MBTI data bank the distribution of women by type showed a preference for J by 61.12% of the sample and a preference for P was shown by 38.88% of the sample.

The Chi-square statistic was applied to the data; the value of chi-square was 13.73 , which is significant at the .001 level (1 df). It was concluded that for this sample the distribution of J and P type differed significantly from the distribution in the general population of females.

Rank and Type

The MBTI categories for the twelve officers of the rank of sergeant and above were identified. Figure 5.5 show the distribution of the types , and estimates of the distribution if this sample were representative of the whole sample of policewomen, and estimates of the distribution if this were representative of the distribution of type found in Kakabadse and Dainty's study of senior British police officers. While it is recognised that not direct comparison can be made between Kakabadse and Dainty's officers, who were of ACPO status, and these officers it was thought relevant to this study to see if there was a pattern of similarity in the Types of promoted women officers and successful senior male officers.

Promoted WPO sample (N=12)		Predicted distribution based on whole sample		Predicted distribution based on sample of male senior officers	
E=4	I=8	E=7.5	I=4.5	E=9.5	I=2.5
S=9	N=3	S=9	N=3	S=6.1	N=5.9
T=11	F=1	T=6.6	F=5.4	T=7.2	F=4.8
P=8	J=4	P=6.5	J=5.5	P=6.1	J=5.9

Figure 5.5 Distribution of types in promoted officer sample

The distribution of type in the promoted officer sample appears to differ from that predicted if promoted officers reflected the distribution of type found in the whole sample (N=152). The distribution appears, on inspection, to be particularly different on the EI and TF dimensions. The Fisher Exact Probability test was applied to the data; the calculated values of C and D were greater than the critical values given (Finney 1948) at the .05 level of significance for all four scales. It was concluded that there was no significant difference in the distribution of Type between the promoted policewomen in this sample and those who had not been promoted above the rank of constable.

A comparison was made using the Fisher exact probability test of the distribution of type in promoted female officers and the predicted distribution if the distribution pattern were similar to those found in senior police males by Kakabadse and Dainty. On the dimensions SN, TF and TJ no significant differences were found between the two samples; on the EI scale a significantly higher proportion of the sample were I's than in the predicted sample based on distribution among male officers (significant at .05 level of significance). It was concluded that female officers promoted above the rank of constable were significantly more likely to have an introvert orientation than were male senior police officers.

A comparison of the distribution of type between all female officers in the sample and male senior officers showed no significant difference in the distribution of type between these two groups.

Predominant Types in promoted policewomen

Cacioppe and Mock asserted that in their study there was a predominant type and this was the sensing-thinking-judging type. Fiftysix percent of their sample were of this type. In this sample twentyfive percent of the sample were of this type (N=3). There was however a predominance of the sensing-thinking type (sixtyseven percent, N=8); in the full sample of policewomen the percentage of ST type is fortyfour percent (N= 67). In the sample of females (N= 16,880) whose data is held at the MBTI data bank, the percentage of ST types is 25.3%. It appears that in this sample those policewomen who have achieved promotion are more likely than non-promoted officers to be oriented towards dealing with factual information and relying on a logical, objective thinking in reaching decisions.

Specialism and Type

A comparison was made between the pattern of type distribution among officers who had chosen to pursue careers in CID work and the pattern of distribution among uniformed officers. It was hypothesised that the nature of CID work would make it more likely that types preferring the use of intuition to establish patterns of relationships would predominate; these would be the "N" types and in particular the "EN" types , oriented to action and the actual world with a preference for exploring relationships, new possibilities and applying ingenuity to problems.

Of the 28 women who were involved in CID work, 6 were "N" types and of these 4 were "EN"; of the 124 non-CID women in the sample 31 were "N" and of these 21 were "EN". Thus there is no significant difference between the proportion of Intuitive types in CID work (21.4%) and in uniformed work (25%). There is the same proportion of "EN" types among the Intuitive types in CID work (67%) as among the Intuitive types in uniformed policing, and the overall proportion of ENs in CID (14%) is not significantly different to the proportion of EN types in the non-CID group (17%). There is therefore no support for the hypothesis that policewomen specialising in criminal investigation work have work preferences which reflect a liking for abstract thinking.

Length of Service and Type

If there is a characteristic policewoman Type (or several characteristic

Types) one question is that of whether this is a consequence of self-selection, as Type theory would predict, or a result of survival of certain, presumably less fragile, Types in a stressful work environment. While this data set did not include MBTI data for applicants to the Police service it did include this data for women with different lengths of service. The probationary period for constables was two years; it was decided therefore to examine the Types of women who had served for less than two years and compare them with women who had passed the probationary period. It was hypothesised that there would be no difference in Type between probationer and non-probationer policewomen.

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of Type in probationer officers (N=43). The predicted frequency was based on the numbers occurring in each Type for the sample as a whole.

	ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
Actual freq.	3	3	0	0
Expected freq.	4.2	3.7	0	.85
	ISTP	**ISFP**	**INFP**	**INTP**
Actual freq.	3	1	1	1
Expected freq.	3.4	1.4	1.1	1.4
	ESTP	**ESFP**	**ENFP**	**ENTP**
Actual freq.	7	8	4	2
Expected freq.	5.9	5.1	3.1	1.7
	ESTJ	**ESFJ**	**ENFJ**	**ENTJ**
Actual freq.	5	2	6	2
Expected freq.	5.4	3.4	1.7	.57

Table 5.5 Actual and predicted frequency in each MBTI category for probationer officers.

The Chi-square statistic was used to analyse the data. The value of Chi-square was 8.15 (15 df); this was below the critical value at the .05 level and it was concluded that there was no significant difference in the overall

distribution of Type between probationer and post-probationer officers. It can be seen that certain Types (notably ENTJ, INTJ and ESFP) do appear to show an unusual distribution. This is further discussed below.

Analysis By Individual Force

The distribution of type was analysed for each of the Forces D, W and S and compared with the distribution of type in the general population of females. The Chi-square statistic was used to analyse the data.
The Chi-square values were:

Force S (n=82, df=15): **78.4** (critical value at the .001 level of significance = 37.7)
Force D (n=35, df=15): **54.01** (critical value at the .001 level of significance = 37.7)
Force W(n=35, df= 15): **23.94** (critical value at the .05 level of significance = 25)

There was a significant difference found between the distribution of type in the samples for Force S and for Force D and the distribution of type in the general population of females (source: MBTI Data Bank, 1985, n= 16,880 females). There was no support for the hypothesis that the sample of policewomen drawn from Force W differed in the distribution of type from the general population of females.

Taking as the measure of deviation from the expected distribution as being plus or minus 33% of the expected number of cases in each Type category those categories showing more than the expected number of cases were ISTP, ESTP, ESFP, ESTJ and INTP (Force S) and ISFJ, ISFP, ESTP, ESTJ and ESFP (Force D). Those categories having fewer than the expected number of cases were INFJ, INTJ, INTP, ENFJ and ENTJ (Force S) and INFJ, INTJ, INTP, ENFP, ESFJ and ENTJ (Force D).

Explanation of these findings are proposed and discussed in the discussion section below.

Discussion

The use of the theory of Psychological Type to explore the personalities of policewomen enables the consideration of several questions; the question of whether a "police personality" exists and if so the nature of that personality, questions about the similarities and differences between male and female officers in terms of their personalities and preferences, the relationship between personality and career progress within the police force, and questions about the origins of any "police personality", including the extent to which policewomen can be considered as being moulded by the force in which they serve and the extent to which the women use their strengths and preferences to enable them to be effective in their work-roles regardless of the norms and cultures of the police service. This last will be explored in detail in the analysis of the interviews carried out with policewomen and reported in chapter 7.

Is there a police personality? There has been some disagreement as to the existence of such a personality amongst male officers (see chapter 1), and where there is agreement as to its existence there is still debate as to the nature of that personality (van Maanen, 1975). Fielding (1988) noted that in spite of popular belief that policemen were typically authoritarian and aggressive, the perspective of those researching police officers was increasingly moving to viewing the police personality (as opposed to the police culture) as being as varied as the personalities of the population in general. Never the less researchers have identified certain key features of such a personality as being forcefulness, aggression and a preference for dealing with facts.

The findings reported above suggest that there is a "policewoman personality", a preferred style of operating. There is a significant difference between the distribution of types among the general population of women and the population of policewomen. What is of interest is in what ways this personality emerges (a self-selecting group or a consequence of police socialisation and culture) and the relation between the personality and work practices and effectiveness.

What, according to Type theory, constitutes a particular Type's workstyles and preferences? Compared with the general population of females (MBTI

Data Bank) those Types having a disproportionately large number of policewomen were Types ESTP (13.8%), ESFP (11.8%), ESTJ (12.5%) and ISTP (12%). Three of these Types (ESTP, ESFP and ISTP) extravert Sensing; that is they deal with the external world in terms of real facts, objects and individuals. The ESTP individual is characteristically forceful (Cacioppe and Mock, 1985). The fourth Type (ESTJ) extraverts Thinking; in other words for this type the preferred way of dealing with the outer world is one in which decisions based on logic, objectivity and facts dominate. Thus for all four types a summary of the dominant principle in dealing with the world would be "a desire for facts, objectivity and order".

This is a simplistic summary. All four are Sensing Types. As such they are careful about facts, are aware of the uniqueness of each event and prefer to deal with a current reality. They prefer precision and reaching a conclusion step by step. With Thinking this is manifested in a belief that reality is only that which can be observed and verified by the senses and evaluated through a process of reasoning from cause to effect, from beginning to conclusion. Sensing combined with Feeling preferences reflect an individual who, while interested in observable reality, makes decisions based on personal values and the effects of those decisions on others; in other words individuals with a sense of the social outcomes of acts and practices. They are practical and sympathetic rather than practical and analytical.

Given the demands of police work and the stated reasons for joining given by policewomen (Jones 1986, also see Chapter 6) it is not surprising that these types predominate in a sample of policewomen. Nonetheless it is of importance to note the existence of a "police personality" and to note the nature of that personality. This is particularly the case given the accusations of male officers that women officers do not "do the job" as well as can males. With these values, preferences and styles of thinking, these women seem well suited to an occupation which requires a strong hold on reality, combined with the ability to reason logically, undistracted by irrelevances.

This personality does have its weaknesses. While the role of the police officer is to keep order and enforce the law, it is not always the case that

explicit enforcement of a particular law is the best way to create a larger sense of law-abidingness in the public. At times police officers are required to make decisions such as whether to continue investigations, caution a person, charge her/him or even to let an event pass with no official action at all. Thus intuition, the ability to see possibilities and make conceptual links might be useful to a successful police officer. This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

Intuition is, in this sample, not a prevalent aspect of the policewoman's preferred ways of dealing with the world. Only 37 of the sample (24%) were N compared with 43.8% of the general population of females, a difference statistically significant. It would be of interest to know whether this was a reflection of the perceived (or misperceived) requirements of the job leading to self-deselecting of potential recruits who were N's. This will be examined further in chapter 7 when the data from the interviews are discussed.

However the comparison of Types of probationer and non-probationer officers lends support to the view that the predominance of certain types cannot be causally linked to police culture excluding (leading to quitting) certain types. There was no significant difference in the overall distribution of type between probationer and post-probationer officers. However certain Types did appear to show an unusual distribution. Type ENTJ was under-represented in the sample of policewomen as a whole and in fact all the cases were probationer officers. This type extraverts judging and has thinking as the dominant process. Characteristically such types are consistent in applying policy, good at analysis and weighing the rules and the evidence, moving insightfully through an understanding of cause and effect. Such types should have the necessary qualities to fulfil the requirements of policework. However the combination of a dominant Thinking with an inferior Feeling can lead to the insight and awareness of possibilities, characteristic of an intuitive thinker, being at times manifested as an overly egocentric analysis of the actions of others, leading in turn to an over-sensitive reaction to the criticism of others. It is proposed that the absence of this type in post-probationer policewomen reflects the need in any police officer for an ability to respond to personal criticism robustly.

The other Type in which the distribution in the probationer officer group differed from the distribution in the sample as a whole was INTJ. This type was under-represented in the whole sample of policewomen and no case of a probationer was identified. It seems possible that this type can be successful in policework but it is not likely that a career in policework, with its emphasis (in careers literature, images in fiction etc.) on communality, reality and hierarchy would be immediately obvious as a choice for a type characterised by being independent, original, critical, visionary, private and autonomous (Hirsh and Kummerow, 1990).

Those types which are under-represented in this sample are INFJ, INTJ, INFP, ENFP and ENTJ. All are intuitive types, with intuition being the dominant process for three (INTJ, INFJ and ENFP). Intuitive types are, as has been stated, oriented towards new possibilities , supplying ingenuity to problem solving and looking for new essentials; with intuition dominant and sensing as the inferior function, as in these three types, there is a tendency to get bogged down in unimportant details and irrelevancies. The strengths of the intuition in the other two "absent" type is balanced by a tendency to hypersensitivity (overly open to possibilities of personal criticism) in ENTJ and a tendency to become so wrapped up in ideas and potentials that the feelings and needs of others are ignored (INFP). The absence of an example of this last type in this sample of policewomen is of some interest; such an individual would be unlikely to succeed (or even survive) in a work environment in which sensitivity to others' needs is of paramount importance whether those others are the public or colleagues in what is very much a team-work environment. Again, consideration should be given to the extent to which this reflects self-selection of certain types for police work or an outcome of police culture and mores. There can be no question that in a job in which good relations between relief members and an ability to depend on colleagues can be literally a matter of life and death (Fielding 1988) a person insensitive to the effect of her ideas on others would be unlikely to survive her time as a constable (although such a person may succeed in higher ranks, according to some of the interviewees reported in chapter 7). This last point is of importance; it may be that the need for team-work, reliance on others and a sense of communality in contemporary police officers is a reflection of the changing nature of policework and the

increased autonomy of individual officers in everyday decision-making. The presence, suggested by the women interviewed (chapter 7), of insensitive and doctrinaire individuals in higher ranks may be an outcome of their having progressed through the ranks during a period when structures of authority in the police service were more rigid and individual characteristics less important. Moreover if this data reflects a need for communality of interest between officers, where does that leave the female officer who may *recognise* the needs of others but is excluded from that communality by the male culture and male numerical dominance of policework?

The Types which were found to be significantly over- and under-represented in this sample are not the same as those found by Cacioppe and Mock (1985) and by Kakabadse and Dainty (1988). Cacioppe and Mock found the predominant Types to be ISTJ (34%), ESTJ (22%) and ISFJ (15%); of these three, in this study only the ESTJ Type was found to be over-represented. This difference may have be attributed to Cacioppe and Mock's sample being male or to it consisting of senior police officers. Cacioppe and Mock did not compare their data with the distribution of Type in a wider population of males so it is difficult to ascertain whether their data reflects a distribution pattern of Type characteristic of all males or male police officers or male senior police officers. If it is characteristic of, specifically, male police officers then there appears to be a profound difference between male and female officers which would be reflected in their work styles and in the assessment of effective performance by (largely male) colleagues and senior officers. Studies by both Cacioppe and Mock and by Garden (1989) suggest that there is no significant connection between Type and susceptibility to stress; however it is possible that preferred workstyles which contradict the norm of preferences could produce specific sites of conflict and stress which the individual policewoman would need to overcome.

A comparison between the results from this sample and the types represented in other populations of women and of police officers is summarised in Figure 5.6

Source	MBTI Preferences				
	E	S	T	J	MEAN DIFFERENCES
Present Sample (N = 152)	62%	75%	54%	46%	
MBTI (all women) (N= 16,880)	-17%	-19%	-13%	+15%	16
Kakabadse & Dainty (N= 49)	+17%	-26%	+6%	+5%	13.5
Myers & McCauley (N= 155)	-12%	+10%	+14%	+20%	14

Figure 5. 6 Distribution of Types in this study, in all women (MBTI Data Bank), in Senior police officers (A.C.P.O. ranks) (Kakabadse and Dainty) and in all police officers (Myers and McCauley).

The present sample is distinctive in every respect from the all-females distribution and from the other two police sample distributions. On the Thinking and Judging dimensions the sample is closer to that of a British A.C.P.O. rank sample, although the overall mean difference between the A.C.P.O. sample and the present sample is similar to the overall mean differences in the MBTI and in the Myers and McCauley studies. Thus the differences are with this sample and other women (this sample has more E, S, T and less J), with U.S. police officers (Less S, T, J and more E), and with U.K. A.C.P.O. ranks (similar in T and J but with this sample having more E and less S).

Of particular interest is the comparison between British male A.C.P.O. ranks and policewomen; the greater preference in the women for an introverted

focus (statistically significant in the case of promoted policewomen) and for use of intuition in reasoning might reflect either a more typically female orientation (in other words that this sample lies in some way between women in the general population and successful male officers). However it might be a reflection of a development of preferences for a more personal and intimate/caring style of dealing with the world as a consequence of the anomalous position of policewomen; these women are both the products of change and the producers of change. They are produced by, and influencers of, force policies and this shapes their preferences and associated behaviours.

Preferences within each scale were also analysed. There was a significant difference between the general population of women and this sample of policewomen in terms of the distribution of preference on all four scales. Compared to the general population these women were more oriented to Extraversion, to Sensing, to Thinking and to Perception.

The extraversion versus introversion preference demonstrates a general preference for dealing with people, objects and facts rather than with abstract ideas and it may not be surprising that an occupation whose public image, as well as much of its everyday practices, is of dealing with practical problems should attract a disproportionate number of individuals whose preferences are for dealing with such matters.

The sensing versus intuition preference refers to people's preferences for attending to information; sensing types prefer facts and intuitive types prefer attending to potential and possibilities. The strength of the preference for sensing was surprising; it was the preferred process of over 75% of the sample. In terms of police "images" and reasons given for joining the police service this general preference seems contradictory; policing is presented and understood as requiring flexibility and insight and as such would be expected to appeal to intuitive thinkers. In particular certain areas of policing such as CID work and some of the specialisms such schools liaison and juvenile work would be expected to attract particularly the intuitive types. As has already been noted above it appears that those appointed to specialist positions do not seem to differ from other policewomen on this dimension.

The Thinking-Feeling dimension reflects preferred ways of judging and making decisions; feelers are oriented towards personal values, outcomes for others, and empathy in reaching decisions; thinkers prefer a more objective perspective focused on logic and facts. The predominance of Thinkers in this sample, when for the female population in general Feeling predominates suggests a group of individuals who place value on their heads ruling their hearts rather than the opposite and who are convinced that allowing facts to speak for themselves leads to better and fairer decision outcomes.

The preference for Perception over Judgement in orientation to everyday life in this sample, and the magnitude of that preference (54% of the sample preferring perception compared to 38.9% of the general population of females) is one of the most interesting findings of this study. This preference indicates the extraverted process, how the individual deals with the world and is seen to deal with the world. The dominance of perception indicates a preference for flexibility and spontaneity, an ability and a desire to cope with the unusual. Once again the question to be addressed is whether this is a result of self selection prior to entry to the police service or a consequence of high attrition rates for certain types or a preference which has developed as a consequence of socialisation in police culture. In practice though one must question whether the police culture is actually agreeable to such Types; it may be the case that women enter the police service precisely because they see it as a non-routine, flexible occupation (see Chapter 4) but find the realities of policing less flexible and more planned than they anticipated. If this were to be the case then part of the process of becoming a policewoman would be the integration of the conflict between desire and reality of work into her concept of self.

One question considered was the extent (if any) to which promoted officers differed from constables in the way they approached life. The statistical analysis showed no significant difference between promoted and non-promoted officers although inspection of the data suggests that promoted officers had a higher proportion of Introvert and of Thinking types than the sample as a whole. It would be reasonable to suppose that officers of higher ranks would be more oriented to the inner world (ideas and plans) than

constables; it would also be understandable for them to be less influenced by personal values in decision making and more concerned with facts. However to draw such a conclusion would be problematic for this sample. A number of the sample, though not promoted , had passed promotion exams, sometimes to Inspector level; three were, or had been, "acting up". It is impossible to tell whether the absence of a substantive promotion indicated a lack in performance or perceived suitability, or a lack of vacancies at the promotion rank. A comparison with the MBTI profiles of senior officers showed that female promoted officers differed significantly in their preference for Introversion; perhaps women need to demonstrate an ability for abstract reasoning more than do men in order to obtain promotion. Or perhaps for a woman to achieve promotion requires a substantial amount of ingenuity or even plotting.

One of the difficulties of drawing any strong conclusions from this data is the lack of a large sample of senior policewomen. This reflects less a failure in the sampling technique than a genuine lack of promoted policewomen to sample. In spite of the claim by male officers that a woman has an unfair advantage in the promotion stakes the evidence is that the 25%/75% ratio for ranking officers/ constables is not achieved in the case of women officers.

It was predicted that there would be a significant difference between the distribution of Types in women working in CID and women working in uniformed occupations. It was expected that the nature of CID work would mean that it attracted Intuitive women, and particularly Extravert-Intuitives who are oriented towards the outer world, where for a CID officer the intuition would be of most use. But there was found to be no significant difference between women working in CID and the other policewomen. One of the reasons for this finding might be that the criteria for selection for CID work might not be based on problem solving abilities or preferences. One of the women interviewed (chapter 7) had just been taken off CID and returned to the beat (against her will) by a senior officer who was acting, according to him, in the interests of her career progression. Other women who were very keen to go into CID have been prevented by a senior officer's perceptions of what the job entailed (Martin, 1979; Jones, 1986). This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

It was appropriate to consider differences between forces in the light of the different recruitment and equal opportunities policies operating at the time of the study in the different Forces. Force W encouraged their policewomen to be "ladies"; they were permitted light make-up and were not expected to participate in certain duties such as riot control (in practice several of these women had been involved in public disorders since the public rarely checks the gender distribution of a relief before starting fights). Force S had a stated equal opportunities policy and used informal positive discrimination (eg accepting a woman just under the height limit) at selection interviews. This force was aiming for 10% of its officers to be female. Force D had no formal policy but treated policewomen equally with policemen and had the most flexible attitude towards the problems of female officers, especially towards single parents (this applied to male officers as well). To some extent this was because the Force, being largely rural, was anxious to have a low wastage rate.

For Forces S and D there was found to be a significant difference between the distribution of Types in these forces and in the general population of females. No such difference was found in Force W.

In one way then Force W appears to have achieved the stated aims of Police Forces to recruit officers who reflect the characteristics of the general population. The reasons for this are unclear. The biographical data shows that the women recruited by Force W are not significantly different from those recruited by the other two forces, other than that they are more likely than those from the other two forces to expect to return to work after a break (although they are less likely, in practice, to actually do so); this is characteristic of working women in contemporary Britain, who expect to work in paid employment throughout their lives with the possible exception of a short break for child-rearing. It might be that the recruitment strategies or actual selection policies are oriented to this force presenting policework as more "ordinary" and hence more attractive to women seeking an interesting but not unusual career.

Conclusion

From the data generated in this study it can be seen that there is a "policewoman personality" and that this differs from the "personality"

proposed for male officers. The possible origins of this personality, or preferred style of dealing with the word, have been discussed in the context of the range of experiences of women police officers. The possibility that this personality can be explained exclusively by either socialisation experiences or by self-selection of applicants for policework has been discounted and it is proposed that the explanations explored in this chapter can be extended by examining personal histories obtained through interviews with serving policewomen.

Chapter 6

POLICE VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Introduction

While most of the data obtained through distribution of the questionnaire described in chapter 4 (appendix A) was intended to provide information concerning the background of the women police officers surveyed, part of the questionnaire contained questions intended to elicit information concerning the values and expectations these women had of the police service, and their personal aspirations within the police force. Such information would be of use in establishing the general beliefs the women had on entering the force, their experiences (good and bad) and their expectations for the future. This data was also anticipated to provide further background knowledge for the analysis of the interviews described in chapter 7.

The questions focused on the previous occupations of the women, their images of the police force on joining and the reasons for their deciding on a career in the police, the aspects of policework they enjoyed and those they found unfulfilling and their aspirations for the future. Most of the questions were open-ended and although summary data is presented in this chapter, much of the analysis was qualitative and necessarily descriptive.

Previous Occupation

Question 8 asked for details of the respondent's occupation prior to joining the police service. The responses were categorised into seven occupational groups: student (including school, college and university), professional, technical, clerical, caring occupations, semiskilled work, unskilled work. The professional category included responses from former teachers and librarians, the technical category included a former aircraft fitter (now a superintendent), and the caring occupations included care assistants and a former aide in a residential home training the blind to use guide dogs. The unskilled work was mainly factory work or work as a shop assistant while the semi-skilled category included a former farm hand.

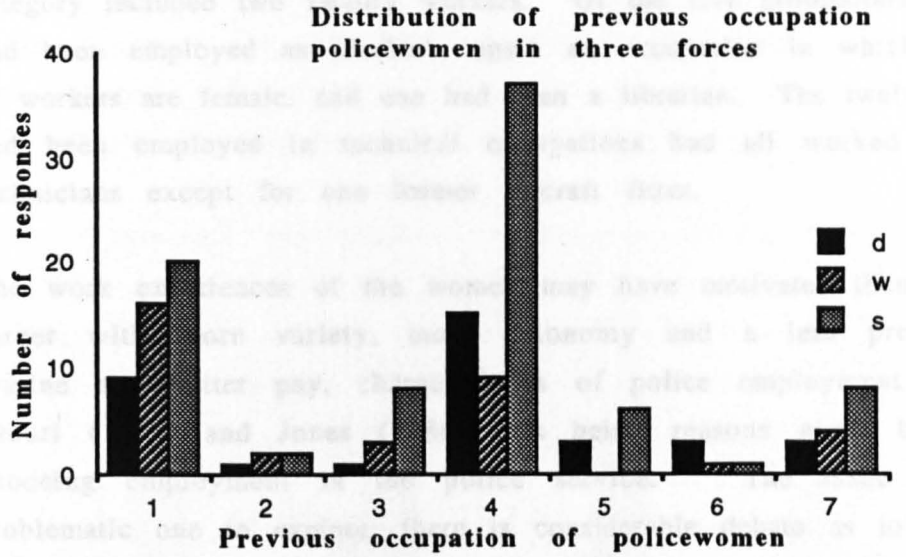

Fig.6.1 Distribution of previous occupation in three police forces. Categories represented are student (1), professional (2), technical (3), clerical (4), caring occupations (5), semiskilled (6), unskilled (7).

Figure 6.1 shows the distribution of previous occupations for each force. The majority of the sample had previously been students (29.6%) or had worked in clerical jobs (40.1%), mainly in local government or for the Department of Social Security.

Although on inspection it appears that force W had a higher proportion of entrants without work experience than the other two forces, several of the respondents in forces S and D who gave responses categorised as clerical also said that these were temporary jobs. Thus it is difficult to draw any conclusions about differences in pre-entry experience from this data; since the findings in chapter 4 did not suggest any significant difference in age and qualifications between the three forces, it would be inappropriate to go further than to note an apparent difference which possibly masks different ways of filling the time between leaving school or college and being admitted into the police service.

The majority of the women entered the police force from fairly typical "women's" employment (Beechey, 1986); they were in relatively low-paid clerical or caring occupations. Ten per cent of the sample were working in unskilled occupation; most of these were shop workers, although this

category included two factory workers. Of the five professional women, four had been employed as teachers, again an occupation in which the majority of workers are female, and one had been a librarian. The twelve women who had been employed in technical occupations had all worked as laboratory technicians except for one former aircraft fitter.

The work experiences of the women may have motivated them to choose a career with more variety, more autonomy and a less predictable work routine and better pay, characteristics of police employment identified by Arcuri (1976) and Jones (1986) as being reasons given by women for choosing employment in the police service. The issue of pay is a problematic one to explore; there is considerable debate as to the extent to which pay acts as a motivator in job selection (Jahoda, 1982). However, the earning potential of a policewoman could be attractive, particularly for women with educational qualifications which would not permit access to one of the better paid professions, such as accountancy, the law or medicine.

Factors influencing decision to join the police

The factors influencing the choice of a career in the police force were investigated through examining the responses to question 12, which asked subject to indicate the factors which had influenced their decisions to join the police. In this question, subjects were asked to rate the level of influence which each of thirteen features of police work had had on their decision to join. The thirteen features related to Herzberg's (1966) hygiene factors (job security, pay, assistance with housing, provision of social facilities), motivating factors (good promotion prospects, varied work, opportunity to work as part of a team, an opportunity for contact with other people), personal ideals and values of service (service to the community, making environment safer and better) and goals of personal development (opportunity to acquire a skill, acquiring knowledge as a background which would help a move to other employment).

Hygiene factors: Job Security, Pay, Provision of social facilities, Assistance with housing

The responses to these four items are shown in figure 6.2.

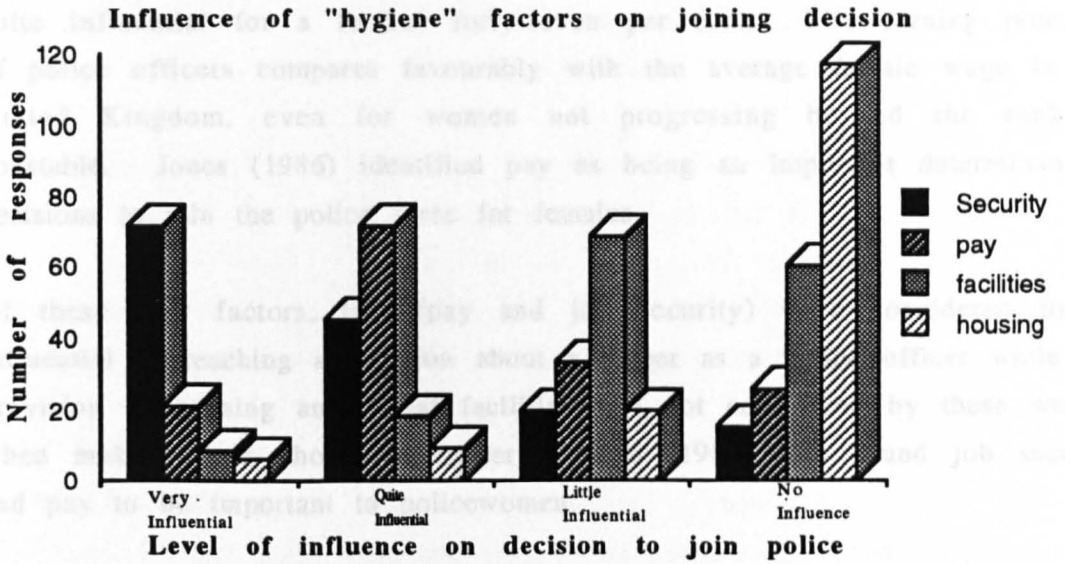

Fig 6.2 Level of influence of "hygiene" factors on decision to join police force.

Of these four factors, housing assistance and better access to social facilities were relatively unimportant in the women's decisions to join the police. Only fifteen women took housing into account at all when making their career choice. There could be two reasons for this; firstly the pressure on housing is less strong, even in the large cities, within these force areas, than in other big cities. Possibly a more plausible explanation is that the proportion of women entering the force directly from school or from a first job would still live in the parental home and be unfamiliar with the vagaries of the housing market. In any case it is unlikely that housing would be a major concern of a woman planning a career in an occupation such as policing. Similarly, the access to social facilities was not influential in the decisions of all but twenty-six of the women.

Seventy-two (47%) of the women reported that job security had been very influential and forty-five (30%) that it had been quite influential in their decision to join the police force. Although no explanation for this can be made by identifying particular economic factors such as unemployment rates which might influence decisions (the dates of joining the police force

varied by about twenty years in the overall sample, and unemployment rates varied considerably over those years) the fact that few women's jobs have security (Boston 1987) might influence the decisions and choices made.

Pay was an important factor for fourteen per cent of the women, and was quite influential for a further forty-seven per cent. The earning potential of police officers compares favourably with the average female wage in the United Kingdom, even for women not progressing beyond the rank of constable. Jones (1986) identified pay as being an important determinant in decisions to join the police force for females.

Of these four factors, two (pay and job security) were considered to be influential in reaching a decision about a career as a police officer while the provision of housing and social facilities was not considered by these women when making their choice of career. Jones (1986) also found job security and pay to be important to policewomen.

Motivational factors: Promotion prospects, Interesting and varied work, Being part of a team, Opportunity for different specialisms, Opportunities to meet people

The distribution of responses relating to motivational factors is shown in figure 6.3.

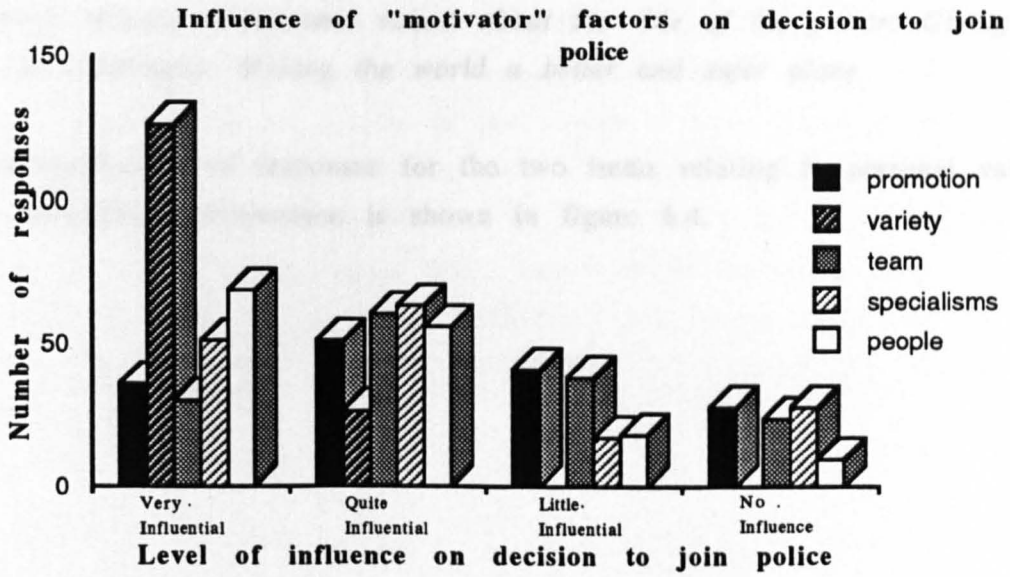

Fig. 6.3 Level of influence of motivational factors on decision to join the police force.

The most striking feature of the responses to this group of items is the response to the item relating to variety of work. While all five of these "motivator" items were considered influential in their career choice for the majority of respondents, three in particular, the opportunity for varied work, the opportunity to try different specialisms and the opportunity for meeting people were particularly influential.

It appeared that one of the more important factors influencing the choice of a career in policing was the opportunity for variety, both in the work done and the people met. The appeal of policework as very much a public occupation, dealing with people, was apparent. Fielding (1988) identified public service and public contact as being important to both male and female officers.

Several women added notes saying that certain aspects of the job, particularly shift-work opportunities, were also influential because they allowed for flexibility in home life and for variety in work.

The other two items, prospects for promotion and opportunities for team work had been less influential although still taken into account. Jones (1986) identified promotion opportunities as being important in enhancing the experiences of serving officers.

Factors related to personal values about the role of the police: Giving service to the community, Making the world a better and safer place

The distribution of responses for the two items relating to personal values of the intending policewomen is shown in figure 6.4.

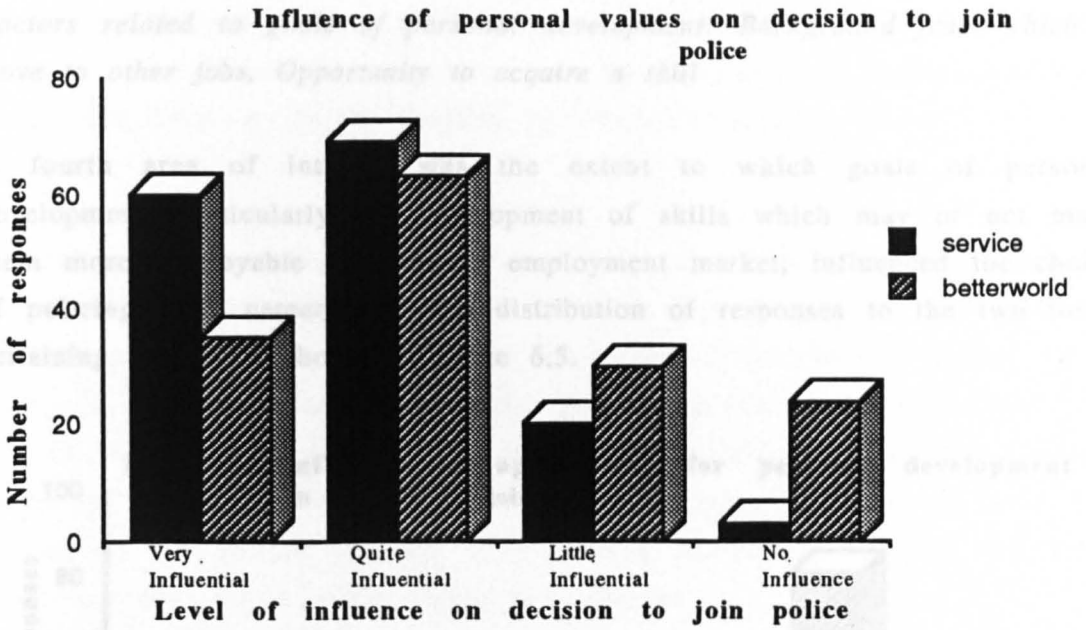

Fig. 6.4 Level of influence of personal ideals and values on decision to join the police force.

The two items which related to the values or ideals of the intending policewomen were "a job which gives a service to the community" and "a police officer can help to make the world a better and safer place". Only twenty-three (15%) of the women were not influenced, or only slightly influenced, by considerations of providing a service to the public; after the desire for interesting work, this was the most influential consideration for the intending officer. Ninety-eight (65%) of the respondents stated that the belief that a police officer was able to improve the quality of life for a community was influential in their decision. Thus a sense of contributing to increased quality of living and of being able to serve was a major influence on the majority of the women in this sample. These findings are similar to those of many other researchers such as Arcuri (1976) and Meagher and Yentes (1986) that the opportunity to serve the public is a motivator for policewomen. The influence these values might have on their subsequent experiences as female police officers, and their responses to those experiences, will be considered in chapter 7 in examining the interview data.

Factors related to goals of personal development: Background from which to move to other jobs, Opportunity to acquire a skill

A fourth area of interest was the extent to which goals of personal development, particularly the development of skills which may or not make them more employable in a wider employment market, influenced the choice of policing as a career. The distribution of responses to the two items pertaining to this is shown in figure 6.5.

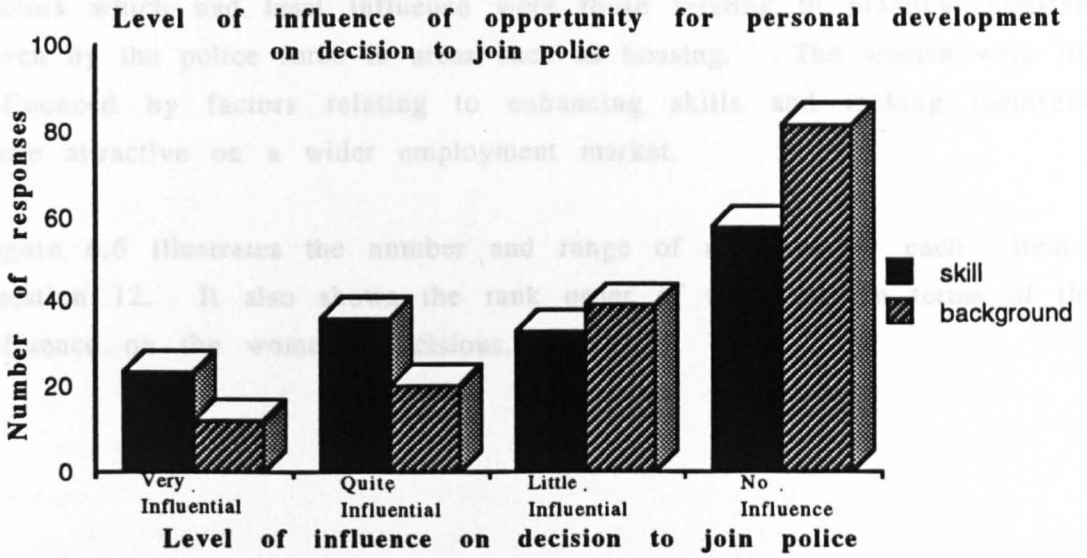

Fig. 6.5 Level of influence of goals of personal development on decision to join the police force.

Personal development, in the sense of acquiring skills, seemed not to play an important part in the considerations of the respondents. The idea that experience as a police officer might provide them with useful skills which could make them attractive to other employers was considered by only thirty-two (21%). The reason for this might be that, in considering entering an employment which is unusual for a woman and uncommon in other respects, the idea of planning for a career beyond the police service is unthinkable. To become a police officer takes commitment, both physical and psychological, so perhaps it is not surprising that having made that commitment these women were not considering other occupations. It is more surprising that only fifty-nine (39%) considered the opportunity to acquire a skill as being influential in their decisions. Policework offers the opportunity to develop a range of skills, from interpersonal to technical.

Cross (1977) and Jones (1986) reported very different findings; in their studies career-related factors, such as the obtaining of transferable work skills, had influence on the decision by women to join the police.

In summary, the responses to this question suggest that the most important factors influencing the women's decision to join the police force were the variety and interest of the work, the range of people encountered and a desire to work in an occupation which gives a service to the community. The factors which had least influence were those relating to practical assistance given by the police force in areas such as housing. The women were little influenced by factors relating to enhancing skills and making themselves more attractive on a wider employment market.

Figure 6.6 illustrates the number and range of responses to each item in question 12. It also shows the rank order of the items in terms of their influence on the women's decisions.

Item	Very Influential	Quite Influential	Little Influence	Not at all Influential	Rank Order
Job security	72	45	20	15	4
Pay	21	72	33	26	7
Good promotion prospects	36	51	41	27	9
Gives service to the community	60	69	20	3	2
Interesting & varied work	126	26	-	-	1
Opportunity to acquire a skill	23	36	33	57	10
Opportunity to work as a team	30	60	38	24	8
Social facilities	8	18	69	60	12
Assistance with housing	6	9	20	117	13
Many different specialisms	51	63	17	27	5
Background for future work	12	20	39	81	11
Opportunity to meet people	69	56	18	9	3
Can make world better and safer	35	63	30	24	6

Fig. 6.6 Distribution of responses to each item, and rank order of items in order of influence.

The women were asked for details of any additional factors which had influenced their choice of a career in police work. It has already been noted that several identified the opportunities for shiftwork as a positive factor. Others mentioned a desire for a job in which boredom was not a feature, and five women cited the job as a source of personal challenge - although they did not specify the nature of that challenge.

The idea of women seeing the police force as a service to the public reinforces the findings of research on policewomen's perceptions of their work cited in chapter 1. The only slightly surprising aspect of the findings in this part of the study was the lack of significance of potential for personal development in selecting a career in the police.

Images of the police force

A factor having the potential for influence on the way the women viewed policing, if not on their decisions to join the police force, was the attitudes of family and friends. Question 11 asked the policewomen to recall what they had been told about the police prior to joining. The purpose of the question was to elicit data on the nature of the values the women had for policework and their expectations of it. The responses are summarised below.

Fourteen of the respondents replied that they had been told either "Nothing" or "Not a lot". A few commented on the lack of information available from the careers office or from Job-centres and one women noted having been actively discouraged from applying by her teachers at her school for the children of Navy personnel. The lack of information available from people whose formal positions (eg careers officer) would suggest possession of appropriate knowledge was a general source of comment and complaint.

In chapter 4 it was noted that the major source of information about careers in the police was not careers officers and teachers but family or friends who were police officers. Given these findings perhaps it is not surprising that many candidates for the police service were unable to obtain useful information in assisting them in their decision making.

Conditions of service

Many of the women had been told that the police force offered good pay, particularly for women, and good job security. They were also told that being a police officer offered good prospects, although the nature of these prospects were not made clear; one woman was told that as a woman she could expect to gain rapid promotion. The work was described as physically demanding, particularly the shift system, but that this was compensated for

by the excellent social life and opportunities to meet people, and by the good pension earned.

The requirements of the job

The women's expectations for their experiences as police officers were coloured by the variety of information given them as to the kinds of experiences they could be expected to have. A PC with two years service recalled being told that the job was "*boring with tinges of excitement*"; she commented that this had some accuracy in light of her experiences. More common were images of police work emphasising the excitement of the work; six women were told it was exciting and "glamorous", while others had pointed out to them the variability and the unpredictability of the work. In terms of the personal input that would be required of them, the women recalled being told that the work required self-discipline and a commitment to working as part of a team and that "*it was a career, not a job*" (PC with 9 years service). The rewards of the work would be in the knowledge of serving the public, in the pleasure of a stimulating work-load and in the respect the police could expect to receive from the public.

Negative aspects of police work

Not all the comments made to the prospective policewomen about their proposed careers were positive. Two women reported that they had been given nothing but negative information about being a police officer, including the comments that they would meet well-deserved public hostility and that it would be impossible to retain friends. This last comment had been made to more than a dozen of the respondents, although one woman recalled having been told "*Make sure you keep your friends and your interests from outside the police force*" (DC with ten years service).

Several of the women were warned about the dangerous nature of the work, particularly the risk of them being physically assaulted. The level of stress experienced by police officers and the risk of associated diseases of stress was a factor of which most had been made aware, although several reported having been given this information as a generalisation and had no information on the statistics of stress-related problems in police officers. The advice received referring to the negative aspects of police work can

probably best summarised in the memory of a PC with five years service, of having been told "*You must be mad*".

Being a woman in the police force

Forty-one respondents recalled being given information about the police which specifically related to being a female officer. Although one woman recalled having been told she would "get on" because of her gender, more common was the comment that women would not get on in the police. Several women had been told that even applying for a job as police officer was a waste of time, since very few women would be expected. One constable, with four and a half years service, recalled her father's suggestion to her that police work was not for women and that she should attempt a career as a social worker. Her father was a serving police-officer, an Inspector.

The physical demands of the job and its consequent unsuitability for women had been remarked on. Similarly the general comment that police work was no job for a woman had been made to many of the respondents. A married officer was told that "*It is not the sort of job if you want to have a family*"; another, who already had a family, was advised that "*You won't have a chance because you are married and have two children - so there's no need to apply*" (PC aged twenty-five with one year of service).

One woman was told that if she could get accepted she should be grateful since no other job would pay a woman so well. Others were actively discouraged from applying to the police, often by being told of the level of sexism they could expect to experience. One women was warned implicitly of the potential risks of being drawn into police culture by being told "*Make sure you don't lose your femininity*" (married PC with twelve years service) while another was given advice which she had found useful:
"*If a policeman tells you that his wife doesn't understand him, don't believe a word of it*" (PC aged twenty-three, one year and ten months service).

The nature of the advice given to these prospective police officers gives some insight into public images of the police service. Walklate (1992) examined references given for prospective policemen and policewomen in an attempt to identify the images of police officers held by the referees. She noted that while for male officers intelligence was the ninth most important

trait cited, being referred to in 14% of references, it was not mentioned in any of the references given for female candidates. For male candidates the five traits most frequently mentioned were level-headedness (mentioned in 22.9% of references), pleasant personality (22%), being good at relating to others (21%), athletic abilities (19.6%) and being hard-working (17.5%). For female candidates the traits mentioned most frequently (and presumably seen as most relevant to policework for women) were pleasant personality (mentioned in 31.4% of references), athletic abilities (31.4%), being good at relating to others (23.8%), morals (21.9) and caring (20%). Thus while possessing pleasant personality traits was mentioned for both males and females, it was mentioned more frequently for women. In addition, apart from "athleticism", all the traits referred to most commonly in references for female candidates related to a caring role for policing; for male candidates traits related to effectiveness and achieving (such as being level-headed, being hard-working and being intelligent) were cited. This suggested that the public had different images of the police for men and for women.

The images of policing reflected in the advice given to applicants in this survey also emphasised the physical aspects of policing, particularly the physical threat of assault and the general level of fitness required. However, in this study the emphasis on the caring and service aspects of policing for women were less emphasised than in Walklate's study; this was possibly because a proportion of this sample gained advice from individuals who had considerable contact with the police, while it was not possible to quantify the extent to which Walklate's sample was familiar with the police service.

The women were given some information which they used in making their decisions about joining the police and which affected their expectations and images of police work. They were advised about both positive and negative aspects of the work. Many had been advised that police work was not suitable employment for women, either because of the associated physical risks, the prevalent sexism in the police force, or because women were perceived to be simply inadequate, by virtue of their gender, for work of such a nature.

Frustrations and sources of pleasure in police work

Respondents to the questionnaire were asked to list those aspects of their job which they liked least (question 13) and those they liked most (question 14).

The purpose of these two questions was to identify the areas of police work liked and not liked, where the preferences were consequent on the individual woman's personal experiences.

Question 13 asked for details of the least liked aspects of police work. The responses were grouped into five main categories. These were things related to the administrative and structural features of policing, things related to the behaviour of other police officer, things relating to the performance of the work and its content, things related to relationships with the public, and things related to personal goals and feelings of worth of the policewomen.

Administrative and Structural Dislikes

Not unexpectedly, nearly all of the respondents reported dissatisfaction with the amount of paperwork required and the limits this placed on their ability to perform other duties which they saw as more "real" police work. The work load generally was considered a problem by several respondents. Others noted the problem of being bored for certain parts of their shifts; several noted that they were often doing nothing when other shift members were working hard because the sergeant allocating duties might feel that the jobs current were unsuitable for women officers.

Shiftwork was not generally liked (although two women included shiftwork as one of their preferred aspects of policing). The main complaints were the effects of shifts on an individual's social life, the problem of late notification of shift changes and early shifts. Six women mentioned their dislike of cold, dark nights on foot patrol duties.

Resourcing generally was seen as inadequate leading to pressures on staff making do with inadequate equipment and staffing levels. One woman said this showed itself particularly in the condition of buildings and facilities; she worked from one of many delapidated police stations, with minimal facilities which gave a poor impression to the public and which reinforced the beliefs of officers that they were not valued by the senior personnel who controlled the budgets. The level of dissatisfaction with senior officers was apparent in responses to this section; three women commented that the level of performance monitoring after the end of the probationer period was too lax, leading to a drop in standards. The final concern women had within this

category was the level of sexism in the everyday running of police stations; eleven women commented that it was always the women who were expected to make tea and do the washing up.

Other Police Officers

Several women commented on the level of cynicism about the public and their roles amongst beat officers. However the main dislikes focused on management policies and skills. The women were often scathing about the senior officers in their forces; they saw them as small minded, as obsessed with trivia (such as the structure and grammar of a report rather than its content), and having poor management skills. In their dealings with individual officers, the senior ranks were seen as uncaring, unwilling to treat anyone as an individual and as offering no support to junior ranks however badly support was needed. There was also a widespread dissatisfaction with promotion policies:

"*Seeing people that I served with as constables getting promoted, when I know that they will make hopeless senior officers, I wonder what it is that promotion boards look for*" (Inspector, age forty-five, twenty-five years service).

The Nature of the Work

Certain jobs within policework were disliked by the respondents. More than twenty women cited attending road traffic accidents as a least liked aspect of policing; thirty one said that dealing with deaths (delivering death messages to relatives, interviewing relatives after sudden deaths and suicide) was disliked and others said that they had experienced difficulties in dealing with cruelty cases involving animals and children. Domestic violence cases were also a cause of concern; for some women this was because they were unpleasant cases in which there was little a police officer could do to improve a situation, while for other women the dislike came from the knowledge that police practice meant that there was little likelihood that any action would be taken and hence, it was time-wasting.

The relationship between juveniles and the police led to situations involving juveniles being disliked by some women. Some of the respondents felt that juveniles were over policed with police officers being called in to break up a group of youngsters causing a nuisance, for example by playing ghetto-

blasters loudly, when they would not have been called to a similar level of disturbance created by adults. This was felt to lead to poor relations between police and juveniles and could lead to real offences being committed. Others felt however that juveniles were treated too leniently, given cautions rather than more serious punishment, and that this led to more serious offending in adult life. The "caring" perspective towards juveniles as a possible way to reduce crime was summarised by a sergeant with twenty years service who wrote that she disliked:

"*Observing so many young children born into particular families or living in particular areas where one knows they have little chance of living a life unconnected with crime. So often they are intelligent little children who start off stealing sweets and end up as armed robbers - they are born to lose, they have little chance - I have seen so much of it and far from becoming "used" to it, it sickens me now more than ever*".

Certain areas of policework were disliked because they were seen as not being appropriate to police duties. These included escorting prisoners to court, doing checks on public houses for under-age drinking, taking details of thefts from cars when these were only likely to be used for the purpose of an insurance claim and would not be investigated, dealing with dangerous dogs, which was frightening and better done by a dog warden, and doing traffic duties.

The women also disliked the dirty jobs such as strip searching offenders, any kind of body search, dealing with dirty prisoners and going into dirty houses. As one woman added, "*I don't like stripping bodies especially "smelly" ones*". Dealing with drunks was also considered unpleasant; however they saw these as a legitimate part of police duties. They expressed distress with the way in which offenders were treated, viewing sentencing as being too lenient, particularly where sex offences were concerned. To an extent this was held to reflect the lack of importance given to their investigation of the antecedents and contexts of such offences.

The other area within this category about which several women voiced their dislike was the limited time they had to give to victims of crime. These women felt that the time spent on non-police duties, such as paperwork and

escort duties, could be better spent on giving information to victims about the progress of their case.

Most of the dislikes in this category related to policewomen's ideas about what should constitute police work and about the relationship which should exist between police and public.

Police-Public attitudes and relationships

A number of the women commented that an aspect of their work they disliked was the lack of support and sympathy they received from the public. They perceived the public, particularly young men, as being hostile to them and felt that this hostility was undeserved. Several commented on the role of the media in presenting and maintaining what they saw as wrong impressions of police behaviour although two of the women commented that they saw the problem as resulting from an over-generalisation to all police officers as a result of the bad behaviour of one or two. Three of the younger women also reported their disappointment in their observations of the effect of alcohol on otherwise pleasant people.

Personal goals and feelings of worth

The respondents reported physical fears associated with some aspects of the job. these included fears of driving fast, dislike of patrolling alone associated with fears of physical threat, and a dislike of public order activities (although these were liked by some women). Some of the officers felt their dislikes were related to not being permitted to "be where the action is".

The relationship between the police and other areas of the legal system were seen as sources of concern by many of the women. In particular they expressed dislike of court appearances where they felt that they were on trial and where the role of the Crown Prosecution Service was seen as being in part to try to discredit police witnesses, and where they saw little opportunity for work satisfaction. Similar comments were made about the police complaints procedure; several of the women had been deeply unhappy with their own treatment during investigation of complaints.

Within this category women again expressed frustration with the attitudes of senior officers; having joined the police out of a desire for a varied life with

a greater level of autonomy, the women found a routine which enforced conformity:
"*It's hypocritical, on one hand they seek (so they say) persons with initiative, however they demand conformity*" (PC, two and a half years service).

However the greatest cause of discontent for these respondents was the attitude of male officers towards them as women. More than half the responses cited dislikes of this nature and their frustration was directed at officers of all ranks. Responses cited being made to care for lost children and being discriminated against by not being allowed to take part in the full range of police activities. One woman reported her duties being largely concerned with transporting mail between police stations. Several merely commented that sexism was rampant at their stations and one woman noted:
"*The way male colleagues treat you as just the cook/tea-maker. It takes a long time to earn their respect as a fellow officer and this is very irritating as I consider myself equally as good in my job as they are*" (PC with five years service)
Several of the women said that male officers attempted to dominate if women were involved in an investigation and often the dominance led to women being excluded.

Question 14 asked women to respond by detailing aspects of their jobs which gave them most satisfaction. The number of responses were fewer than to the prompt about aspects disliked and many of the responses were the same, relating to the variety and unpredictability of the job, and to the opportunities the job gave for public service. Five women left this question blank and one woman wrote "*Nothing, I'm quite disillusioned*" (PC aged 30, twelve years service). The responses were analysed within three main groupings: liked aspects of the job which related to the nature of policework, aspects relating to relations with the public and aspects relating to personal achievement.

Likes relating to the nature of the job
Almost all the respondents cited the variety of the work and the unpredictability of incidents as a most liked aspect of police work. Those who had previously worked in clerical occupations compared police work

and its variety favourably with office routine. The pay and the job security were mentioned by several respondents as one of the best aspects of the job. Shift work, which for many women was the least liked aspect of their employment was welcomed by two women for the flexibility it gave their arrangements for shopping "*You can avoid the crowds*" and for socialising. Foot patrol, disliked in cold weather and at night, was cited as a well-liked aspect of work by four women, particularly "*foot patrol on a warm sunny afternoon*" (PC, 25, three years service), Another feature of working life valued by many of the women was the camaraderie of the police force, the certainty of being able to trust and rely on colleagues and the opportunity to work as part of a team.

Relationship with the public

Undoubtedly one of the most liked features of their work was the relationship which many of the women found with the communities they policed and the feeling that they were contributing to those communities and providing help and useful information, particularly to the elderly and to children. Several of the women listed schools liaison work and helping with school projects as one of the most liked activities. The idea of service extended to the activity of the women in cases of sexual abuse or rape; although the women reported finding these cases personally taxing they liked dealing with them because of the positive help they could give the victim. Three women acknowledged the pleasure they got from recognition of their work from school children or from some member of the public they had helped over a minor incident. In conjunction with this several women said that one aspect of their work they most liked was the locking up of offenders who deserved to be locked up - not only offenders in cases of violence but joy-riders, petty burglars and people committing public order offences who lowered the quality of life for the rest of the community.

Personal achievement

The women, not surprisingly, liked those aspects of their work which gave them opportunities for personal achievement. These were in the area of demonstrating their skills; women reported liking work skills which were valuable as, for example, the case of women recalling getting confessions during interviewing or taking good rape statements. Demonstrating more

practical detecting skills in investigating crime, or in the case of three women, working in a Major Incident Room also gave the respondents feelings of achievement and pleasure. One woman described getting to grips with the academic side of the law was the most enjoyable experience she had had in her career in the police force.

Several women commented on the autonomy and freedom from restraint experienced during much police work, especially foot patrol. A feeling of excitement and enjoyment, unlinked to any specific incident or aspect of work, was commented on by many women as a major part of their work satisfaction. And the development of skills and abilities across a range of activities enhanced their work lives. One woman mentioned proving herself as a woman as being the best experience of her career in the police force:

"*As the only scenes of crime officer on the division (four males) I find it a challenge to prove myself constantly. I find that I try harder than the men so that I cannot be accused of "just being a woman"* DC aged 30, twelve years service.

Additional Comments

The final question on the questionnaire asked respondents for further comments on their work. This question was left blank by ninety-three of the respondents. Those who did comment made personal statements concerning their police values, the policies of their forces and their personal experiences.

Many of the respondents made suggestions for improving the quality of service provided, the morale of police officers and for communicating their experiences to a wider forum of people interested in aspects of the legal system. One respondent suggested that a way of stopping the loss of trained officers to desk jobs or to work outside the police force would be to set up special units to deal with juveniles or with sexual offences, staffed in part by such personnel. She spoke as an officer trained in dealing with victims of sexual offences who was currently in a desk post because of the impossibility of combining uniformed work with being a mother; in a unit such as this she

could work a 9 to 5 day. Four other women suggested special units, resourcing a whole force area, for investigation of sexual offences.

Comments were also made about recruitment, training and promotion policies; four women commented on the unsuitability of the minimum age of eighteen for entry to the service; twenty one should be the minimum. this could pose problems in recruitment since it would entail a mid-career change, but should lead to the recruitment of more worldly-wise probationers. One woman commented on the apparent policy in her force of using academic qualifications as a criterion for promotion; she felt that good work performance was more important. Several women commented on the need for courses to train officers to deal with their personal emotions when involved in stressful cases.

Nine of the respondents wrote at length on the problems of being a female in the police force; all referred to instances of denigration of their work by males and to instances of what they saw as sexual harassment. Women were never treated as equals, complaints were not taken seriously and all reported that their behaviour and attitudes had changed as a consequence of their experiences as policewomen. One woman summed up her experiences:
"*I am the only woman on my shift. For two and a half years I was the only female officer in the station (of 40 officers). My immediate supervisor has no confidence in female officers. If out with male colleagues, members of the public tend to speak to them rather than to me. Surprise is shown by the public should I turn up on my own, especially at night.*" (single PC, 28 years old, six and a quarter years service).

Another woman wrote "*The job is not what it's made out to be. I am the only woman in a station of over twenty men and life can be quite difficult with them*" (Married PC, 24 years old, one and a half years service). As another put it "*One's attitude to work is largely governed by fellow officers*" (Married PC, 26 years old, five years and eight months service).

This was a small proportion of the total number sampled but represented a fifth of the number who responded to this question. A further eight women commented on the poor position of women in the police force but also commented more widely on police practices. Responses included comments

on socialisation "*The most fascinating thing about police officers to me is how, after initially being recruited they are extremely keen and eager. After an extremely short period of time these same officers become cynical, resentful, lazy and completely demoralised*" (PC, married, ten and a half years service). The same woman also observed that it was difficult to progress as a married mother. Other respondents suggested that the socialisation which produced cynicism and misogyny was a reflection of values and attitudes at higher levels of the force. Assumptions were made about the suitability of women for some jobs and their unsuitability for others at a senior level and this was simply reflected in the attitudes of male constables and sergeants. The exasperation of one woman, an inspector with twenty-five years service, with the management of her force and their values was clear:

"*I am saddened to see my force slowly slipping into oblivion, although the chief officers wouldn't agree. There is so little caring in the police force today, everyone seems to be for No. 1 and couldn't give a damn about anyone else*"

However although some of the women were unhappy about their position within the police service, most retained their commitment to the work even if disliking some of their experiences. As a PC wrote:

"*It was the best decision I've ever made*" (PC aged 25, eighteen months service, former croupier).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed accounts given by policewomen of their jobs, their satisfactions and dissatisfactions, their experiences and the factors which influenced their decision to join the police. These have been discussed in the context of previously reported research into the attitudes and experiences of female police officers. Factors influencing joining were examined; these included the attitudes of friends and families towards the police as well as the women's personal values, goals and motivations. Liked and disliked aspects of work were investigated; these included aspects of the police management structure, relationships with the public, the treatment of the female officers by male officers and features of the job itself.

Chapter 7

CRITICAL INCIDENT INTERVIEWS WITH SERVING POLICEWOMEN

Introduction

In chapter 3 the rationale for selection of Critical Incident as a research tool was outlined. From the various alternative methods for obtaining data from subjects which both allowed them to tell their "stories' and allowed the researcher to obtain relevant and useful data, such as unstructured or semi-structured interviews, Q-sorts, or projective techniques, the use of Critical Incident was felt to be most valid. In particular, this held a particular resonance with the notion emerging from the review of the literature on self, identity and the experiences of women workers, that conflict and conflict resolution was a key element in the negotiation of a sense of self. Critical Incidents, by definition, refer to events which *for the individual* have particular salience and, therefore, a particular part to play in the development of the individual's sense of her identity.

In order for the experiences of workers in any organisation to be understood, two main issues have to be addressed. First is the issue of the researcher understanding the nature of the organisation, its language (and other codes), its practices and its mores. The second issue is one already touched on in chapter three, namely the relationship between the researcher and the researched and the consequences of that relationship for both the quality of the data produced and the interpretation of that data. For me, in researching policewomen, the two were inextricably linked.

Forester (1983) comments that:

"*We can also see that organizations not only produce goods and services but also, produce and reproduce their members knowledge and beliefs, their deference and consent to organizational authority, their trust in limited spheres of social cooperation. and their attention to a selective range of organisational problems and tasks. Organizations produce "results" to be sure, but they also, and more subtly, reproduce the beliefs, consent, trust, and attention of their members and those with whom they interact*".

It would appear then that to attempt to understand the position of workers within an organisation requires an understanding of, and familiarity with, that organisation as well as familiarity with the roles and responsibilities of

the particular worker being researched. It became obvious that in order to generate the "right questions" in my research, as well as to give an appropriate interpretation of the responses to those questions, I would need to familiarise myself with policework. While this was important to the stages of the research described in previous chapters, it was an essential component of this stage of the research.

In addition there was the issue, referred to in chapter three, of the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the person(s) being researched. This was not posed solely as an issue of ethics and personal preference (Hollway, 1989); the relationship between the researcher and researched colours the nature of the data actually obtained during the research process:

"It is the researchers job to reconstruct the social world in terms of formalised constructs that capture the contingencies of the situation and the manner in which reality is created. Often this will involve a reconstitution of the logic in use or rationality of the actor's definition of the situation, so the researcher must adopt a suitable methodology to avoid damaging the actor's explanation" (Jones, 1983)

To reconstruct the social world of policewomen requires familiarity with that world. It is difficult not to be sceptical about the possibility of a complete outsider being able to understand the object of his/her enquiries; while certain aspects of a researcher's own life might inform understanding of certain aspects of the life of the person researched, a more complete knowledge of the world being researched is a prerequisite for valid and insightful analysis. In order both to generate appropriate stimulus material for the Critical Incident interviews and to understand and interpret the experiences about which the policewomen would talk in the interviews, I had to familiarise myself with the police world.

Becoming a policewoman involves going through an initial period of formal training, based outside the location of normal policework. The Police Training Centres provide the introduction to policework for all officers (apart from a brief period of a few days in a police station) and it is at the Training Centre that police officers are provided with material pertaining to

the law, to their roles as enforcers of law, and appropriate actions for law enforcement, crime prevention and effective policing. It is also at the Training Centre that police officers are introduced to the formal and informal culture of the police force (Fielding, 1988).

After graduating from the Training Centre policewomen are assigned to a police station where they are attached (in principle if not in practice) to a tutor constable for a period of about ten weeks. They then go through a probationary period which lasts for a total of two years. During this time their performance is monitored and they can expect help and supervision from more experienced colleagues. An officer will have been appointed at a senior level to supervise the progress of probationer officers; however the amount of contact the probationer can expect to have with him will be limited. Following satisfactory completion of her probationer period the policewoman will continue to work where allocated and she might undertake one or more of a number of specialisms e.g. handling the computer, CID, Traffic, Community Policing or working on the Regional Crime Squad.

In order to develop greater familiarity with the experiences of women police officers I decided to spend some time at a Police Training Centre and to spend a period shadowing a police officer at a busy urban police station.

The Police Training Centre

At the time of the study the Centre took recruits from six forces; I spent three periods in residence, each period of three days duration. I observed teaching sessions, interviewed trainees and staff and participated in the evening social life. The social life was largely restricted to the Instructors, since in the evenings most of the trainees were involved in preparation for the following day's classes. The interviews with the trainees were taped but did not form, since this was not the intended purpose, the basis for any data analysis. I also made field notes during the period of residence; these included summaries of conversations as well as observations on practices and outcomes.

Shadowing

It was not possible (because of a lack of female personnel) to arrange for me

to shadow a female officer but this was not important given that the purpose of the exercise was to familiarise myself with general police practices and experiences. The South Wales Police Force arranged for me to spend a week at Ely police station in Cardiff, shadowing a male constable. This meant I followed his shift pattern (experiencing all three shifts), attended incidents with him and sat in on interviews with the consent of the interviewees. The constable had acted as a tutor constable and was, at the time, a community policeman, although in practice he was able to spend very little time on his community beat, because of the staffing situation at Ely and because of statutory requirements for policing which meant he was often required to undertake more urgent duties. Ely is a suburban station in an area of considerable social and economic deprivation; it was the site of rioting in the summer of 1991. I had the opportunity to talk to other officers based in the station and took field notes during the period of shadowing. The experience was useful in preparing me for conducting the interviews and in designing the measures in the questionnaire and preparing the Critical Incident items.

Selecting Critical Incident Items

The discussions with police officers both at the Training Centre and at Ely police station, my observations of the nature of police work, material from published articles on policing generally and policewomen in particular, and general discussions with police officers had given me ideas about the kinds of issues likely to be important to policewomen. Critical Incident gave me an appropriate methodology to both tap into the concerns of policewomen, particularly as those concerns affected their sense of personal identity, and also to empower them within the interview procedure. The selection of items for the Critical Incident interviews had to be made. The items had to reflect the following three criteria:

1) They must have validity and resonance for policewomen. Apart from the established fact that materials which are perceived as irrelevant by subjects in research are not responded to seriously, I knew that policewomen specifically did not suffer fools gladly and that items which were of little relevance would be seen as an indication of ignorance on the part of the researcher and possibly lead to a refusal on the part of the policewoman to participate in the research.

2) They should not be specifically focused on explicit aspects of sexism,

sexual harassment or discrimination. The reason for my making this stipulation was twofold. Firstly the context of these interviews made disclosure of very personal details about sexual harassment such as rape or attempted rape both unlikely and also inappropriate since I could not provide an appropriate therapeutic environment for such disclosures. Secondly, my experience of police officers led me to believe that an obvious washing of a police force's "dirty linen" in public was unlikely to take place and a request for a story about, for example, "A time when you were sexually harassed" would be likely to, at best, be avoided, and, at worst, lead to mistrust by the policewomen of my overall goals. In any case the sex discrimination informing police work is implicit and subtle (Jones, 1986); the particular experiences of police officers *as women* would also, I felt, be better tapped implicitly.

3) The incident items should stimulate the policewomen to talk about specific situations and about wider organisational contexts. They should also enable the policewoman to discuss both positive and negative aspects of their working lives. The theories of female identity discussed in earlier chapters, particularly those specifically connected with research into the experiences of policewomen, show that to establish a coherent identity is an achievement, and one which is produced by positive as well as negative situations and from positive as well as negative outcomes of conflicts. Thus some incident items needed to reflect achievement and optimism and some items difficulties and pessimism.

French (1989) reported on the process of developing critical incident items for examining aspects of INSET teacher training. He was concerned with the relevance of training on the wellbeing and performance of part-time B.Ed. students and, as was the case with this study, felt that a direct questioning method was unlikely to be informative about the subtle or indirect impact of an experience on the teacher. He developed fifteen items which were used as a frame round which to develop and pilot items for inclusion in this study.

The purpose of the probe questions in Critical Incident interviews is to enable subjects to consider and elaborate on particular experiences which have had a significance in their lives (Flanagan, 1954); for the researcher it is the content of the subject's report of her subjective experiences/responses which is of import. The researcher is interested in the *nature* of the

stimulus items to which subjects respond and also in subjects' self-reports of personal responses. Unlike many of the quasi-scientific, objective (i.e. researcher-led) designs within the social sciences, critical incident permits the cognitions of the subject to be the legitimate site of interest. Thus it is vital for the researcher to select incident items which are known to have resonance with the subject group under study and which are likely to produce data relevant to the specific issues being researched, in this case the negotiation of personal identity. For example, I was aware from observations of policework and from discussions with police officers that an item relating to administrative load such as "*Think of a time when you felt the paperwork required of you was too great*" would have produced responses (and in the actual study there was considerable comment on the amount of paperwork required of police officers) but these, however detailed, would not necessarily have been fruitful in generating data concerning personal conflict or identity achievement. The term "critical" in critical incident interviews refers, as I have said in chapter three, to the significance of the event for the individual, rather than for a wider world community, and hence can give insight into the hopes, the values and frustrations of that individual.

From French's list of critical incident items, ten seemed to have some potential, suitably modified, for investigating the experiences of policewomen. These were:

You went home excited about your work
You felt you had to speak out
What you did changed the attitudes and practices of other teachers
You felt you were bashing your head against a brick wall
You saw a group of pupils in a new light
You despaired of your colleagues
You lifted yourself out of a rut
You felt your training had been useless
You achieved particularly good results
You found an educational practice laughable

French developed his list of incident items from those used by Kitwood (1980) for his study of adolescents. Kitwood emphasised the need to find *"a list of*

situation descriptions that would be relevant to values and that would enable participants to give their accounts freely" . Kitwood noted that in practice his subjects produced an interview radically different to that which he had originally intended. His intent had been to use the "situation" (critical incident item) as a "way in" to direct questioning by the interviewer, an interrogation following the accepted lines suggested for the methodology of the interview. However, his young subjects used the "situation" to offer an account of a salient experience which had correspondence in some way to the situation. Thus the approach was near to a free conversation with the researcher acting as empowerment rather than as constraint. For this to work the incident items had to tap into these meaningful personal experiences.

My observations, discussions and reading of the literature gave me specific ideas of issues which were particularly meaningful to policewomen and which would be likely to suggest some personally relevant experience to my subjects. They included issues like career uncertainty - times at which police officers felt as a consequence of a particular incident or set of circumstances that perhaps the particular role or rigours of policework were not for them. Other issues related to cop-culture, that very specific set of ties of loyalty, values and behaviours characteristic of police officers (Reiner, 1978) and to the conflict of loyalties experienced by someone with close ties to different cultures. On the basis of this a set of critical incident items were devised which could be piloted. These were:

1. You went home really excited about your work.
2. You felt you had to speak out.
3. You felt you weren't up to the job.
4. It most struck you that your idea of what policework was about wasn't what you were actually doing.
5. What you did really made a difference to what other police officers you work with do or think about things.
6. You felt very much alone.
7. You felt you were bashing your head against a brick wall.
8. You saw offenders in a new light.
9. You wished you had been on a course.
10. You despaired of your colleagues.

11. You found police practices laughable.
12. You felt at odds with being a police officer.
13. You felt unsure the police was for you.
14. You lifted yourself out of a rut.
15. You felt your training had been useless.
16. You achieved particularly good results.
17. You felt proud of something you'd you had done.
18. You felt you had to adapt to police ways.
19. You felt very close to colleagues.
20. You discovered something new about yourself.
21. You made a serious mistake.

Items 1,2,5,7,8,10,11,14,15 and 16 were modified versions of French's items.

The items were piloted by being given to eight male police officers. Male officers were used because I did not wish to use any of my potential subjects for the main study in the pilot. In any case the main aim of the pilot was to see if the items would generate incidents and also whether all would be acceptable as stimulus items. Subjects in the pilot study were given the list of items with the following instructions:

Below is a list of feelings which most people have about their work on occasions. I would like you to choose as many items on the list as you can and try to remember the occasions and contexts when you felt like that. I am interested in how YOU felt and why those occasions were important to YOU.

Subjects were also asked to comment on any items which they felt to be irrelevant or which seemed to overlap with other items. Although there was some disagreement between the subjects as to the relevance of all the items to their own experiences, only two items were perceived by the pilot subjects to be problematic. One officer claimed never to have seen an offender in any light other than "criminal" and another suggested that anyone who felt he had experienced item 12 (You felt at odds with being a police officer) would simply leave the force. However two items, numbers 20 and 21 were seen to be inappropriate. Item 20 was felt to be too general; the subjects said they could think of incidents outside policework but none specifically related to policing which would fit this category. Item 21, they

felt, overlapped to a great extent with item 3 (You felt you weren't up to the job); moreover a police officer who had made a great mistake would be unlikely to be in a position to discuss it, either for fear of disciplinary action or as a consequence of it. Since the other items appeared not to have associated problems and seemed to generate appropriate narratives from the pilot subjects it was decided to drop items 20 and 21 from the final list sent out to subjects.

Below is a list of feelings which most people have about their work on occasions. I would like you to choose FIVE or SIX items on the list and try to remember the occasions and contexts when you felt like that. I am interested in how YOU felt and why those occasions were important to YOU.

1. You went home really excited about your work.
2. You felt you had to speak out.
3. You felt you weren't up to the job.
4. It most struck you that your idea of what policework was about wasn't what you were actually doing.
5. What you did really made a difference to what other police officers you work with do or think about things.
6. You felt very much alone.
7. You felt you were bashing your head against a brick wall.
8. You saw offenders in a new light.
9. You wished you had been on a course.
10. You despaired of your colleagues.
11. You found police practices laughable.
12. You felt at odds with being a police officer.
13. You felt unsure the police was for you.
14. You lifted yourself out of a rut.
15. You felt your training had been useless.
16. You achieved particularly good results.
17. You felt proud of something you'd you had done.
18. You felt you had to adapt to police ways.
19. You felt very close to colleagues.

Fig. 7.1 List of Critical Incident items and instructions given to subjects.

The final list of items was sent to interviewees two weeks prior to the interview date with a covering letter (see Appendix C) explaining the purpose of the interview and confirming the date and time of the appointment. A check-list of prompts and issues to explore was prepared for the interviewer to use (Appendix C). The final list contained 19 items and is shown, with subject instructions, in Figure 7.1.

Selecting the Subjects

The purpose of this part of the research was to tap into the range of experiences of policewomen through their responses to the critical incident items. It was expected that there would be a different concept of what was "critical" for people with different lengths of working life and also between people in rural versus urban environments and between people in different ranks and specialism within the police service. However it was not part of the conceptual frame of this study to make comparisons eg between probationers and sergeants, between CID and uniform patrol officers. Rather, it was hoped that the experiences illustrated in critical incidents would provide themes of common experience as well as themes of difference or maturation. Thus the sampling frame was constructed to provide information on the experiences of policewomen in a range of physical and psychological locations.

In the initial postal survey (see chapter Four) respondents were asked if they would be prepared to participate in a further stage of the study. If prepared so to do, they were asked to give a contact telephone number and address at the end of the questionnaire. Twentyfour of the respondents were unwilling to participate in a further stage of the research.

The sample for interview was to be representative of the range of police experiences (measured in terms of length of service, rank and whether or not an interviewee was a uniformed officer or in CID or in an administrative role). A sampling frame was constructed consisting of three cells. Cell one consisted of officers with less than six years of service, cell two consisted of officers of constable rank with more than six years of service and cell three consisted of officers with more than six years of service and with a rank of sergeant or higher. These divisions were for the bases of making decisions on sampling, and were not intended for the purpose of analysis; in other

words it was not intended that a comparison be made between all the officers in one cell and all the officers in another cell.

On the basis of the data generated in the questionnaire, all potential interviewees were categorised according to their rank and length of service. Eight officers were then selected from each cell; from cell two four officers were in uniformed posts and four in CID and from cell three were uniformed sergeants, four were CID sergeants and one was a superintendent based at divisional headquarters. The final selection was optimal; three of the candidates originally approached to take part in the interview stage of the research were on long-term sick leave and one had retired for health reasons.

The interviewees were first approached by telephone to explain the purpose of the interview and to allow them to consider whether they still wished to participate. None of the interviewees withdrew at this stage. A second telephone call was made to arrange a convenient time and location for the interview; details were then confirmed by letter. At this stage one prospective interviewee (cell two) withdrew because her station sergeant had forbidden her to participate; she apologised but reported that in spite of her years of service she felt unable to go against her station sergeant's wishes even though the interview had been arranged to take place in her own home. A policewoman drawn from cell one also reported difficulties with her station sergeant (see chapter three); however she was most anxious to participate in the research and, as a probationer, asked me to contact the chief superintendent in charge of training for her division. Since he approved her participation, her sergeant was forced to withdraw his objection.

Brief biographical summaries of the twenty-four women interviewed are given in Appendix D. In the text of this chapter interviewees are identified by their subject number.

Interview Procedures

It was decided that all interviews should be taped and later transcribed; in addition the researcher made field notes during the interview noting details of any additional relevant information. Interviewees were asked at the end

of the interview whether any of the nineteen items was felt by them to be totally irrelevant to their experiences in policework, and their responses were recorded.

Interviews were conducted in locations of the interviewees choosing; some officers preferred to be interviewed in their own homes and others preferred to be interviewed in the workplace. In all cases interviews were held in a quiet room. Interviewees were told that neither they, nor their Force/location would be identified and neither would any individual named during the course of the interview. They were also told that they could turn off the tape recorder at any stage during the interview. In practice the tape was only turned off three times, each as a result of an interruption (either telephone call or a caller). In only one case was the interview deliberately interrupted and this interruption took place after the critical incident interview had been completed and during debriefing (subject 2); in this case the officer's immediate superior, who had apparently expressed disquiet at the interview taking place because of the volume of work, decided that she could no longer be spared. Interviewees were contacted after the interview had taken place and thanked for their participation.

Analysis of Interviews

The taped interviews were transcribed and analysed.

Analysis by Critical Incident Item

Subjects were asked to select five or six items from the list. Some subjects selected more than six items and three selected four items. Figure 7.2 shows the responses of each subject to the nineteen critical incident items.

An analysis was made of each Critical Incident item. At this stage ofthe analysis the purpose was to identify the number of subjects responding to each item and to examine the nature of the incidents reported by each respondent. Although each incident reflected a specific response to a prompt, much of the interview covered issues and experiences not best interpreted in the direct context of the stimulus items. At this stage of analysis I was concerned with the specifics of the topics chosen, the nature of the memories aroused and the personal salience of those memories for the policewoman concerned. Thus, part of the analysis involved an attempt to

group, or classify, the incidents.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1		X	X	X		X		X		X				X			X				X		X	X
2			X		X		X		X						X		X				X			X
3	X				X			X		X	X			X	X		X				X			X
4			X					X							X				X		X			
5							X				X					X		X						
6			X	X	X	X	X	X			X			X	X	X	X	X	X					
7			X						X		X	X	X		X			X		X		X	X	
8	X				X				X							X			X	X		X		
9					X					X					X	X								X
10				X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X				X	X		X	X
11			X				X			X	X	X	X				X	X		X	X		X	
12				X							X			X										
13					X						X													
14		X			X						X													
15	X	X			X																			
16		X	X	X		X		X				X						X	X	X		X		
17	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X		X	X							
18					X											X		X	X			X	X	
19	X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X						

Fig. 7.2 Distribution of Critical Incident Items by respondent. The vertical axis represents Incident Item numbers and subject numbers are plotted on the horizontal axis.

Item One: *You went home really excited about your work*

This item was selected by eleven respondents. It was the item which, not surprisingly, had the greatest variability of content. None of the policewomen perceived this as an inappropriate item although several of the women said that it had been a long time since their work had excited them. Two of the women reported being excited by incidents which gave them the opportunity to help the victims of crime; one of these cases concerned a hand-bag snatching (thief caught) and the other a murder trial, in which the accused was convicted. Both women told these stories in the context of

giving some comfort to victims or to victims families. Five of the stories related to personal achievement, either in good policing practice leading to the interception or detection of criminals, or in developing personal skills previously unknown to the women. One of these was a woman who had been on a drivers course, having only held a licence for a year. She was enthralled by it and to her surprise and joy passed at grade 4 (allowing her to drive a police van) when the best she thought she could get was a 5 (to drive a Panda car). She now intended to do another course, improve her grade and apply to Traffic Division. Another woman, having left school with minimal O-levels, went on a Computing course. She too found hitherto unknown skills and passed the course with the top grade. She reported it as being "*the most difficult and exciting thing I had ever done*" and was frustrated that her ideas for improving computer systems in use and developing wider data-bases and access were not being considered by the senior officers to whom she had submitted them. Three of the women described incidents when they were new to the job; at the time everything excited them and were usually physiologically arousing. One woman described disturbing three burglars in a house; she had been alone and had had to call for help before managing to arrest two of them. She was on a high for days after. The other two talked about more general incidents - the variety of the work, the requirement to know the law and apply it properly had kept them excited - and awake at night. One woman said she had never wanted her shift to end!

The last incident in this group was reported by an older officer, a superintendent, and referred to excitement relating to being useful to a far wider community. She described an incident in which she had recognised that there were far more and varied opportunities than she had previously thought for improving race relations. She had been asked to give a sermon at a church service for a national conference of an evangelical grouping. She arrived at the service accompanied by (it turned out) the only other white person in attendance, the Force's Race Relations Officer. She felt inspired and excited and talked about the fellowship of people. Until then she had thought of race relations as being part of a separate group of duties; this experience excited her in itself and also because it gave her ideas for future practices.

This incident item produced narratives about commitment to a wider public,

about satisfactions with personal competences in both "orthodox" police skills such as detection and less expected skills, about relationships with and responsibilities to victims of crime and about the possibilities for excitement related to the intrinsically varied nature of police work. This last point however should be taken in the context of comments of other policewomen that policework, far from being varied, was predictable in that no matter what happened you had to fill in mounds of paperwork; one officer, when asked why she had not responded to some items, selected Item One and said:

"*The truth is that maybe 10% of policework is incident and excitement and the other 90% is boring and mundane and paperwork*" Subject 13

Item two: *You felt you had to speak out*

This was an item which some of the women found problematic. Reasons given for not selecting it ranged from "*I don't know enough to speak out*" (subject 1) to "*If you do speak out then you will get nowhere in this job*" (subject 16). One of the women who chose this item (subject 9) said rather ruefully:

"*Very often I feel I should speak out but I don't and very often when I do speak out I find I've made the wrong decision and that I shouldn't have spoken out, not because I'm wrong but because I get into trouble*"

Eight women chose this item. One woman remembered an incident in which she spoke out against the hierarchical structure of her force which left her, trained and experienced in doing rape interviews, forbidden to participate in one case because a more senior, though untrained, woman officer had been available to do the interview. She felt that the force structures were being given a privileged position over the interests of the victim or, indeed, over the interests of effective investigation.

Six of the women remembered situations in which they had spoken out against the rudeness, laziness or incompetence of policemen in dealing with the public or with policewomen. (This theme recurred in responses to Item Ten). One women remembered receiving an instruction from her sergeant

to intervene in a situation, a local dispute on a housing estate, an instruction which he claimed had originated in a message from a local councillor. She knew the order had in fact come from an Inspector who was involved in the dispute and challenged the sergeant. She felt that she was punished indirectly over a period of time for suggesting that the sergeant was lying, even though she had told him she knew that the origin of the lie had been the instruction of the Inspector. Another woman remembered shouting very loudly and publicly "*Get your hands off me*" when an Inspector squeezed the back of her neck as he walked past her desk. She felt very embarrassed because she had no support from her male colleagues who accused her of fussing about nothing and in the end she shrugged off her response by saying "*Oh, you know, I don't like being touched by anyone*" (subject 3). Later during an appraisal interview the same Inspector told her she had no respect for him. Her reply of "*That's irrelevant; are you giving me a good or a bad report?*" went unanswered, but in fact she received a glowing report and the Inspector from then on claimed her (and her successes) as his "protegee". Her speaking out was risky but had a positive outcome although it made her feel very isolated and produced a negative situation described in her response to critical incident item six. Other women reported speaking out about rudeness to the public, laziness and skiving, including drinking and card-playing on duty. One woman reported plucking up her courage to go against the unspoken code of not "telling" on colleagues when she witnessed an unprovoked assault by a policeman she described as "completely out of control" on a young man. Her resolve was strengthened when at the disciplinary hearing she saw two policemen also testifying against this man; she was now confident that she would continue to assert her view of the police as serving the public not serving themselves.

Only one officer reported speaking out over working conditions. She was at the time working with two male officers, each with over twenty years service, on ports and was primarily concerned with drug offences, terrorism and immigration. The workload could be very heavy and they had been working overtime without this being acknowledged. She had spoken out for the three insisting that either more manpower should be deployed or they would adopt their own strategies for containing their workloads to manageable proportions.

Responses to this item can be summarised as being related to problems with police practices and police culture whether these were official or unofficial, to honesty and responsibility to the public and to problems of management being unaware of workloads. Although speaking out is a response to a negative situation it did produce positive outcomes; changes in behaviours of fellow officers, increased self-confidence on the part of the policewoman, and increased esteem from others. There were negative outcomes too, particularly when the "speaking out" was against inappropriate practices on the part of managers, or general force policies. In addition, speaking out could lead to feelings of loneliness particularly where it countered established police values.

Item Three: *You felt you weren't up to the job*

I had expected that most of the responses to this item would be related to lack of training/experience and would come from officers with less experience. In fact while four of the eight women with under six years experience chose this item, so did the most senior officer in the sample. Moreover the nature of the situations in which the policewomen felt "not up to the job" went beyond inexperience or lack of training.

Ten women selected this item. One referred to physical size and strength and said that in circumstances such as a fight she felt she couldn't fulfil the requirements of policework. Others referred to a general lack of knowledge about the law and experience with dealing with situations. Two of these referred to the opinions of others; one policewoman reported having been too worried about others feeling she wasn't up to the job to seek advice about procedures, in the case of a woman reporting domestic violence, while another felt worried that she hadn't known enough about the law to deal effectively with a member of the public and had been frightened that he would complain that she wasn't up to the job. Only one woman cited PACE as a problem; she felt she still wasn't fully clued up on PACE but "*You learn to bullshit after a while*" (subject 21). She was more worried about others perceptions of her performance than having doubts about herself. One woman recalled being asked to search her first "sudden death", an elderly man. She couldn't do it (the body went unsearched since she didn't confess her failure to colleagues) but felt serious doubts as to her personal worth.

Two women reported severe personal problems affecting their work as police officers but they had had very different experiences of management's responses. One, with a dying husband and young baby was refused special leave; she eventually left that Force. The other, whose relationship was ending, was reluctant to share her personal problems with her male colleagues but in the end explained her situation to her sergeant, took a short period of sick leave, and then returned finding work a counter to her personal problems.

One woman reported having felt inadequate throughout her training; she felt picked on for being young, pretty and female and only stayed because she was buoyed by the hope that in a station she would be less conspicuous and better treated.

Two women recalled feeling not up to the job because of the importance of what they were doing for the public (rather than because of fear of any official reprimand). One very experienced officer remembers her feelings when taking her first rape statement; because a poorly taken statement could have such a dire effect on a case which she saw as important she was, in spite of her experience, wracked with feelings of inadequacy. A superintendent had been asked to write part of the Chief Constable's Annual report; she felt this was such an important document for the public that she would not be able to do it justice. Both these cases reflect the self-doubts of, objectively, very competent officers.

The issues raised in remembering round this item were about loyalty to self and personal relationships, about competence and feelings of personal worth, about the evaluations of others about competence and the importance of being respected by others, and issues about training and preparation for police work. Only one woman felt not up to the job specifically because of her sex; both the women whose work had been affected by personal problems were adamant that their personal lives were important, to them as important as police work; the woman whose husband was dying noted that a male colleague had been given compassionate leave to spend time with his dying father. She stated that when women had personal problems these were seen by management and by fellow officers to be a result of their sex,

while male colleagues personal problems were dealt with more as they arose, never being classified as "male neuroses" in the way that women's problems were classified as "female neuroses" (Subject 11).

Item Four: *It most struck you that your idea of what policework was about wasn't what you were actually doing*

Five responses were made to this item. Two respondents commented that for long periods in their careers they were involved mainly in routine administrative tasks which could have been done by civilians; one of these manned the IRIS computer. A community constable commented that when she did school crossing patrol duties it had not to her seemed to her to be an appropriate use of either her training or her salary. The other two women made comments on the contradictions between their image of policing before they entered the service (and images held by people not in the police force) and their experiences of policework. Subject 15 commented:

"*All I wanted to do was to help the public, that's all I wanted to do when I joined so, but now as the years have gone by I've realised you can't be the social worker, the lifesaver, the firefighter, basically the job is to detect and prevent crime*"

A policewoman just finished her probationary period compared her experiencing of policing a town in a rural location with the images of crime in TV police series like "*Cagney and Lacey*" and "*The Bill*" which seemed action packed, or the glamour of "*Lethal Weapon*". She felt more like a community policewoman rather than someone arresting and detecting, dealing with criminals. Television never showed the boredom of a night shift or the hours of walking the beat not doing anything. The policework she had envisaged doing was far more that experienced by her colleagues in city locations.

The reasons given by policewomen for joining (Chapter 6) relate to public service, a degree of personal autonomy and variety of work. It is not surprising then that those aspects of policing which are routine or "office" work produced feelings that "this was not the job they had joined to do". Paper-work, the sheer volume of it, came up in the interviews as general

grievances (see later this chapter) particularly where the women felt they were sacrificing 'real' policework in order to deal with it. It was surprising to note that, despite the care with which these women had researched their chosen career and the efforts of Police Forces to paint an accurate picture of the job to potential recruits, the images they held of policework had more to do with film and television representations of police officers than the representations in police career handbooks.

Item Five: *What you did really made a difference to what other police officers you work with do or think about things*

This item was chosen by four women, with two of them illustrating it with two incidents. Two of the reports had to do with improving the way in which other officers handled day to day routine note-taking, so that investigations could be undertaken more efficiently. One of the women referred to the practice of going to a break-in and passing on to investigating officers a report on the lines of "*break in at such-and-such an address, entry through kitchen window, jewellery taken*", with no details which could help detection. She developed a more effective way of interviewing and recording. Similarly the other case involved a woman teaching other officers how to write up their pocket books. Both criticised training. Two responses referred to achievement in demonstrating that women could be as effective as male officers; one of these referred to a situation where she dealt with an aggressive German Shepherd dog, when male officers had not been able to control it; the other situation was a woman sergeant arresting a man(who turned out to be wanted by the police) in difficult circumstances:

"*I ended up in the middle of the road and I was bruised and cut and I'd lost my jacket and all sorts of things and I managed to get this chap and I didn't know who he was and I managed to get this bloke in and from then on I was the praise of the place. "Wonderful, there's nothing wrong with women sergeants" simply because this was a very well known criminal who was wanted anyway. I had personally never heard of him but he'd done something to cause me to arrest him*" (subject 16)

The other two incidents referred to taking a wider perspective on policework generally. A sergeant talked about a situation in which she had convinced

her fellow officers that having a harmonious relationship between ranks was likely to produce more effective policing and a constable reported an apparently simple policing situation (a road traffic offence) in which she convinced her colleagues that taking a long-term approach on prevention, rather than charging offenders, might be more efficient use of police time. This woman also felt that police officers often failed to watch their own backs in failing to take a long-term view of their actions.

These incident items can be grouped generally as representing feelings of professional fulfilment and in two cases, fulfilment as women specifically. Subjects who didn't select this item commented typically that nothing influenced police practices except instructions from above; the experiences of these women showed this not always to be the case.

Item Six: *You felt very much alone*

Thirteen officers selected this item as prompting memories of an important personal experience. Two of the officers gave examples of two incidents which had particular significance for them. Of the fifteen stories, nine had to do with being a lone female in the police force, the loneliness being either psychological or physical or, in one case, both. One PC with just over two years service, said she felt lonely and excluded from the social life of her colleagues. She was the only woman on her relief and missed the opportunity of having someone who could be confided in (Subject 19). Two others commented on policemen not telling their wives that they worked with policewomen "just in case", "*Well, they didn't want to take me out in the car because maybe their wives would moan because they were alone with me for eight hours*" (subject 6), while another policewoman commented that it was impossible to get close to male colleagues because women didn't fit into the culture of drinking and clubbing enjoyed by males, and also because of the risk to her reputation. Subject 5 commented:

"*You know you can be messing about in the office and somebody will say "Oh, B's pregnant" and I'll say, joke about it, someone else will hear that and think it's true and they'll go on and on*"

The strain is at least as great for officers above constable rank; they are

more likely to be alone and lack the social support networks enjoyed by male colleagues of equal rank. A sergeant remembered having been very upset after having dealt with the families of three suicide cases within one week; her male colleagues had made fun of her distress and she had taken two days sick leave, not as a consequence of the upset caused by the suicides but because she felt so vulnerable with her male colleagues.

Asserting ones self as a woman can also lead to isolation; a young PC assigned to CID at a new station where she took the post over the head of a longer-serving officer with less CID experience, found her reputation as ambitious and assertive had preceded her. She was isolated socially and her loneliness culminated in her being assaulted by three youths in a situation she should not have attended but had done so to "prove herself". She identified one of the attackers by name and by a description of his clothing, only to be contradicted at the police station by a policeman saying "*No, you're wrong, it couldn't have been D, I've seen him today and he's not wearing those things*". She felt completely alone and disliked. Later her colleagues told her she had had a real "attitude problem" when she arrived at the station. For this woman loneliness was not just psychological but also physical. Being physically alone was the theme of another assault story; in this case the officer suffered spinal injuries and the response of her colleagues had been that she, as a woman, had no business following up a male suspect alone.

Loneliness and physical isolation is not a problem only for women police officers; three recalled incidents where the loneliness was a consequence of the requirements of the police role (rather than being female in the police role). One DC described doing surveillance work in a nightclub, watching for drug-dealing, when she saw acrosss the room a well-known local criminal to whom hers was a well-known face. She was chased up some stairs, radioing frantically for help, aware all the time that the radio did not transmit well through night-club walls. Similarly an officer during her probationer period recalled radioing for help to break up a fight and as she went into the melee remembering that the nearest car was at least fifteen minutes away. A detective sergeant said her loneliest moment had been giving evidence in a murder case; she had felt noone was on her side in a very public arena.

One story of being alone didn't easily fit into any grouping. An officer working on the Crime Squad was doing twenty-four hour surveillance, following people and watching them. The fact that she could watch people without them being aware of it, what she termed the "Big Brother" aspect of the job, worried her so much she became convinced that she too was being followed and watched; this made her feel totally isolated.

In summary ,the responses to this item reflected experiences of psychological and physical loneliness thought to be common to all police officers, and in the majority of cases psychological and physical loneliness specifically associated with being female in a male world.

Item Seven: *You felt you were bashing your head against a brick wall*

Ten women responded to this item. Six of the incidents referred to situations in which senior officers failed to recognise the resource limits, in terms of personnel, or the fact that this led to officers adopting strategies for coping which did not necessarily coincide with best-practice policing or which produced stress in the individual concerned. Allocation of personnel was suggested as being a major issue, with senior officers unwilling to listen to the ideas of those policing at street level. For example, an inner city station, with six officers on a relief, was instructed that two of those officers should be in plain clothes and focus their attention on a growing drugs problem. This left four to deal with everything else. That experiment lasted four weeks. Similarly in two incidents recalled by different officers decisions about policing football matches were taken at Divisional level which were inappropriate to need - in both cases officers were pulled onto football crowd control leaving staff shortages for the rest of the evening's events. In one of these cases the visiting supporters numbered 200 and the home supporters numbered 3000; as the interviewee commented "*those 200 weren't going to cause anyone any trouble*" (subject 20). In the other case the interviewee had been manning the computer on the night of a match and had decided to use the depleted resources as efficiently as possible. She failed to send anyone to a 'suspicious person loitering' call; no offence was commited but the member of the public who had reported the sighting complained, and she was reprimanded, being told "*You have no right to opinions, you just obey instructions*" (subject 12). As she later said *"There wasn't anyone around to*

even give me instructions". Generally there was a lack of recognition of work load, to the extent that:

"*It appears sometimes that expenses and overtime are paid out of the bosses pockets, to get what you're entitled to is harder than catching criminals..*" (subject 15).

In one case a sergeant who had frequently petitioned for more women officers to be recruited found that there was no woman available (ie not tied up with other duties) to take a rape statement between her town and town A, some eighty miles away.

A young constable described an incident where she had been required to do overtime, although she had repeatedly told her supervisor that she had a prior important private commitment. She said that this reflected a typical lack of consideration on the part of bosses for the personal lives of constables.

Frustration with courts and procedures for dealing with offenders was a topic forming the core of four narratives. Courts either put people in the wrong place (eg an abused child back in the family to be abused again) or failed to put them in the right place (such as releasing offenders back into the community to face the victim and to reoffend). Court procedures and the lack of communication between court officers and police frustrated one constable; she reported in one case spending hours interviewing a young offender who denied a charge; when the case went to court he admitted the charge and it was added to a list to be taken into consideration. Another officer felt her frustration at the time she spent trying to talk offenders and their families out of reoffending, recalling a particular youth with whom she spent some time, knowing all along she was wasting her time.

Only one officer reported frustration at the publics perceptions of women police officers. Although the literature on policewomen (see chapter 1) has reported some negative attitudes on the part of the public, this did not figure importantly in any of the other narratives. This sergeant described two incidents in which a member of the public had insisted on a (less experienced and less qualified) male sergeant attending domestic disputes.

She had attended the first dispute herself, since her male colleague had been unavailable, and had dealt with it successfully and was frustrated when on a second occasion a man was still preferred.

The incidents described in response to this prompt item seem largely to reflect a recognition that police officers, regardless of sex, have little autonomy over their work and that their views, experiences and needs seem to achieve no recognition from policy makers or managers in the police service. The identity of a police officer would have to integrate this recognition. There was some evidence that sexist attitudes on the part of the public informed the experiences of policewomen.

Item Eight: *You saw offenders in a new light*

This was an item which attracted narratives from seven respondents. Generally they could be classified into a category in which the "new light" was a better one or placed in a category in which the "new light" was a worse one. This second type of memory seemed to reflect an adoption of a "them and us" (criminals and police) way of viewing the world; the policewomen seemed saddened by, but resigned to, a negative view of the offending public. Those who had seen offenders in a new and better light recalled incidents in which they had come to recognise offending as only part of the offender's life, or in which the social context of offending and not offending became clear to the policewomen. For example one woman recalled an incident shortly after completing initial training when she had arrested a man after a nasty pub brawl. The next day she met him in the street; he was polite and pleasant and apologised for his behaviour the previous night. Until then she had viewed criminal behaviour as an enduring trait. Another recalled a relationship with a young male offender which had, over years of her arresting him for petty offences, become quite acrimonious. Then he met a girl, settled down and stopped drinking. One night in a pub fight he came to her assistance in breaking up the brawl. A policewoman in an inner city area remembered being called to an incident in which a young woman had fallen through a plate glass shop window (and later died of her injuries). With the young woman was a man well known to the PC with a long history of violent crime. He had been upset and kept saying it had been an accident. Eventually it turned out that the young woman had been drunk and trying to

pick a fight with another woman in a pub and he had dragged her outside to prevent the fight. She calmed down and they were making up in a shop doorway, when she saw the woman with whom she had wanted to fight, turned to rush at her and fallen through the shop window. The policewoman said that she saw the young man in a different light, as a soother of situations and someone genuinely distressed by a situation; she also learned not to make quick judgements of events or people without first getting accurate details. One policewoman (subject 22) cited an incident in which, she said, she first realised the social and personal antecedents of crime. She was called to a routine event, a road traffic accident involving a drunk driver. She brought the woman driver to the police station and she was found to have a blood alcohol level of 150 (the highest the interviewee had ever seen). She had been travelling to buy more vodka; she was a nurse, her husband had subjected her to systematic physical abuse and she dulled her fears and the pain by heavy drinking. She was adamant she never drank on duty but had a lot of sick leave. Her husband had left her, and she became depressed and even more reliant on alcohol:

"*I felt I had been over-simplistic and had never tried to understand offenders; now I take time to find out why people commit offences*".

Two of the women reported experiences which had made them view both specific criminals and criminals in general in a worse light. In one case a young woman involved in petty crime had been given help by the policewoman involved in the case. In spite of this she had continued to offend, getting involved in increasingly serious crime. The policewoman felt up until then she had been naive and trusting; now she assumed that offenders told lies unless it was proved otherwise. Naivety in her early years as a PC was recalled by another officer; she now realised that for some people crime was their livelihood; they weren't all unpleasant people, but would always offend.

One respondent, a sergeant, recalled that her views of offenders had changed for the worse, but she accepted that because people had a string of convictions did not prevent them from being nice people - but they would always be dishonest:

"*I have met quite a few that do the most horrendous things to other human beings and it disgusts me, it does disgust me but there again those are those offenders. There are other offenders who are lovely people, who are really nice people, you know. They could have 20 convictions but they are really nice people*" Subject 16.

Direct experiences had coloured policewomen's views of offenders but while some oriented their views to a blanket negative perspective on offenders, for other women their experiences required them to challenge their own stereotypes of criminals and their behaviour, and also to question the social and cultural contexts in which offending occurred.

Item Nine: *You wished you had been on a course*

The police force generally runs large numbers of courses dealing with aspects of the law, interviewing techniques, special courses for training in dealing with child offenders and child victims, self-defence - it would appear that all needs could have been satisfied. However five women selected this item, with two identifying two situations in which they wished they had been on a course. All five women described incidents in which they had been required to deal with sexual offences and had been unprepared for both the procedures involved in the investigation and the difficulties of taking a statement from a victim in considerable distress. They all stated that the reason for their disquiet had been their feelings of responsibility to the victim; if they had made a mistake in the early stages of the investigation, any case would collapse. Four of the women empathised strongly with the victim, feeling "There but for the grace of God" and this gave them even stronger feelings of anxiety and anger at not having been adequately trained. One subject had asked several times for a course on dealing with rape and had been furious at her ill-preparedness:

"*There I was in front of this woman who'd just been raped and her mother and I'm saying 'I'm sorry' you know 'I've just got to read this' and I didn't have a clue, I cocked it up*" Subject 10.

In addition to sexual offences, one woman had felt (after being beaten up by a man she was trying to arrest) the need for a real self defence course "*one*

where you didn't have to rely on your attacker to use the correct holds" (subject 24).

The final incident described illustrates an often-referred to desire by the Police Forces to acquire instant experts. Several women commented during the interviews that the police expected officers to become an expert instantly, by virtue of the label attached to the particular job being done. Thus "*you go to Drugs on Monday, and you're an expert on crack and cocaine by Tuesday*" (subject 15). In this particular incident a police sergeant who collected antiques as hobby was made to perform as the police "antiques expert" in a local television programme. She felt completely inadequate and felt that the least her managers could have done would have been to send her on an antiques course.

The overwhelming view reflected in the responses to this item was that training was needed to enable efficient performing of duties, in particular because of the responsibility which the police had for the public.

Item Ten: *You despaired of your colleagues*

This item was selected by more women than any other item, fifteen in all. Four of the women talked about two incidents which were significant for them. All incidents described actions by policemen and none included police women. The main themes were laziness and incompetence (six stories), attitudes and behaviour to members of the public (nine stories), and attitudes towards women officers (four stories).

Although the problem of police gossip, particularly about women officers, was mentioned in several of the interviews it only formed the subject matter of one policewoman's incident item. She recalled a married woman colleague, who had been friendly with a visiting German policeman, being driven close to leaving the force because of the level of gossip, which was not intended maliciously but seemed a part of policemen's way of life.

Laziness, incompetence and poor police practices featured as making many of the women "despair" and appeared as critical incident stories in six cases.

Colleagues skiving off duties, drinking and card-playing had been experienced by the women, sometimes to their advantage. Subject 6 thought that, as a consequence of her being excluded from the male drinking and card-playing on night shifts during her early years as a policewoman, she had gained more independence, made good arrests and raised her profile in the force:

"*I seemed to be making more of an effort to go out and find work than perhaps my colleagues were and because I was out there when they were inside playing cards I came across things*"

Sheer ignorance of the law and appropriate police practice also caused despair. One woman recalled being stopped by her Inspector and asked what she had in her notebook; she replied "*Nothing, Sir*" because nothing had happened. She was horrified when he then told her to make up a few lines because she should have something in her book. Ignorance of the law and rights of arrest in a policeman with "enough service to have known" was referred to in another story. Subject 12, a sergeant, recalled a policeman bringing in to the station a university lecturer who had been arrested for dropping a Mars bar wrapper:

"*I just looked at him and said 'Was he swearing, the lecturer?' 'No, Serg.'" 'Did he say anything?' 'No, Serg' and you can't say to a PC with a prisoner, that's the last thing you can do 'You haven't got the power of arrest', you can't do it so I cautioned the university lecturer and I was very nice 'Don't do it again, bye, bye, thanks for calling' and that was the end of that and I wiped the floor with the policeman after*"

The role of the police as givers of a service to the public and the relationship between police and public was raised in several of the incidents. The attitude of some policemen to the public caused despair in their colleagues:

"*Its his manner with people, his disgusting manner and its just generally the way.. and there are a few people like him and those are the ones that I could particularly despair of....*"

"*To be honest with you, I'm absolutely fed up with the police force at the*

moment. Really fed up with it because of the general attitude of so many people towards members of the public." Subject 16.

The same sergeant also described an incident which happened when she was off duty and driving in another Force area. She had been stopped for going the wrong way up a one way street and was treated by the constable who stopped her to a torrent of personal abuse focused on her sex and her (apparent) wealth (she was wearing a fur coat):

"If I was a member of the public I would have made a complaint against him but I didn't feel I could because I'm a police officer but if I'd been a member of the public I would have".

Several other incidents of deliberate unhelpfulness or abusive behaviour to the public were described. In one incident the policewoman, acting-up as desk sergeant, had to physically stand between her Inspector and a man who had been brought in, as the Inspector seemed determined to goad the man into attacking him (subject 6) and she was unable to persuade him verbally to stop.

The despair generated in these women arose firstly from their views of the police as being providers of a service to the public and hence the police officer having a duty of care and courtesy and, secondly, for the pragmatic reason that a member of the public abused by a police officer one week might be the member of the public needed to help a police officer the following week:

"It's not a job that requires you to be rude to people, but also, practically, you know next week you might be wanting that member of the public to help you and what that member of the public will remember is that somebody in uniform was mouthy to them." Subject 9.

The third area where despair was reported was in policemen's attitudes to policewomen. At times they seemed unaware that their behaviour could cause offence. One woman, at the time of the incident an Instructor at the Police Training Centre, told of the PE Instructor ordering her to speak to one of the female students to instruct her to shave her pubic region because he

could see some pubic hairs when she wore her swimsuit:

"*So I insisted that I speak to him alone because there were others about at the time and I gently and firmly explained to him her side of the story should she complain to me that the Chief Instructor was paying particular attention to her pubic region. And he immediately backed down. But I was er, oh, he was a pervert, an absolute pervert.*" Subject 6.

Other women described more explicit incidences of policewomen being devalued and undermined. A sergeant described a time when she was a PC and had been involved in the arrest of a man who was very much "wanted by the police", in which she had done most of the policework. She described the response of her Inspector:

"*He's a pig of a man and he came in absolutely delighted that B (male officer) had arrested this chap. I said 'He didn't sir, I did, he's my prisoner' 'You did?' and his exact words were 'You can't fucking arrest a man'. I said 'Well I'm awfully sorry sir but I just did'. 'You can't do that' 'Why not?' 'Because you are a woman, don't you know you're a woman?'. So I said 'I've done all the work Sir..' 'I don't care what you've done' and he starts banging on the desk and swearing.*" Subject 16.

Other respondents referred to comments made about the unsuitability of policewomen to policework; one policewoman qualified to sergeant and with experience of having acted-up to sergeant was passed over for an "acting-up" position as duty sergeant in favour of a less experienced and qualified male officer. Respondents also noted that policewomen were always expected to make the tea and generally service the men:

"*The men expect that when a button goes, they expect you to have a safety pin. But where on earth should we carry a safety pin*?" subject 6.

Another aspect of policemen's behaviour which exasperated the policewomen was their attitude to emotional displays or to any emotionally difficult case. They handled this by making jokes; while some of the policewomen recognised this as a coping strategy they were angered by the responses of the men to their own feelings of pain or distress:

"*Just before Christmas I had three hangings in a week and you've got all the family screaming and shouting and it always seems to be this particular time of the year where more suicides occur. And you'd come back feeling a little bit upset and you'd have all the boys cracking jokes and I used to think 'Oh my God, why don't you grow up', they'd say 'How was he hanging?' and all this, and you think 'I just can't cope'*". Subject 4.

These policewomen believed that their experiences demonstrated that regardless of their actual competence, male colleagues did not believe them to be equal colleagues, even if they had proved themselves in some way. Moreover the values of public service and sympathy, which many of the women felt enhanced their work as police officers, were consistently undervalued by a sizeable proportion of their male colleagues.

Item 11: *You found police practice laughable*

Eleven responses were made to this item. Being overloaded with paperwork was cited in two incidents; women referred either to the volume of required paperwork reaching the point where other work could not be done, or where the amount of paperwork required of an investigation was enormous but after several days solid work the case papers would be sent back from the Crown Prosecution Service.

The management of officers caused dissatisfaction; the practice of making staffing decisions without considering their implications led in one incident to a new officer being paired with an incompetent leaving the pairing "*without a police brain between us*" (subject 23) and in another case a city centre relief on a Saturday night losing most of its patrol officers to a rugby match.

Disciplinary and commendation procedures were also found laughable; the criteria for each were thought to be unknown even to the senior officers deciding on matters and certainly to beat officers. One woman received a commendation, when on attending a house fire she walked to the back of the house and found the elderly occupant standing in the garden:

"*So all I did was take her by the hand and walk her out of the back garden and round to the front, put her in the Panda car and I took her to her daughters. I had a commendation for that, for rescuing this woman and all I did was walk round the back. When I've worked really hard and deserved a commendation - nothing!*" Subject 12.

Another had received a commendation for bravery; two weeks later she was reprimanded by her Inspector for not wearing her hat in the Panda car at two in the morning. Comments on dress were considered laughable:

"*I just feel like saying "Have you any idea what I've had to deal with today and you're worrying about the fact that my hair's down on my collar?" It never comes from someone like the sergeant it always comes from the Super who's wandering along the corridor*". Subject 10.

Respondents complained at the lack of understanding at management levels of the needs of the policewoman, either in terms of her domestic life or her need for job satisfaction, best illustrated by a woman describing a rape case which had been lost in court; she had felt the need to explain to the victim why the case had been lost and to reassure her that the victim had not been to blame. This would have given the policewoman satisfaction; however she was not given time in which to do this. At the same time the need to be recognised as part of a team and to be afforded the same physical protection as male police officers was also denied; a respondent described how in her town a "hoolivan" patrolled at pub closing time to pick up trouble-makers. Women were not allowed on the hooli-van, the implication being that they weren't up to the job, yet were sent out to patrol the same streets at the same time, alone and on foot.

The lack of any set procedures to deal with certain situations was also challenged. One woman said that this aspect of policework infuriated her, particularly as it affected domestic violence:

"*The unspoken rule is that unless you're absolutely sure that the woman is going to make a complaint and go to court, you just get rid of it. Now I believe if there's an assault taking place you pursue it regardless of what the complainant says, but it doesn't happen in practice, it doesn't and I think it's*

ridiculous" Subject 10.

Similarly policework was valued only in terms of getting a result, there seemed to be no procedure for enforcing good police practice apart from that. Hence some women felt the orientation towards a case depended wholly on how likely it was that the officers involved would "get a result". The procedures for dealing with juveniles were criticised for being too unwieldy and ineffective.

In summary, the issues raised in responses to this item related to management being out of touch with the realities of policing and unconcerned as to the needs of police officers and the day to day experiences faced by them. This was clear in the practices associated with discipline and commendations. Some of the women felt that senior officers were particularly out of touch with the experiences of women officers and this was exemplified in their attitude towards domestic problems and dress. Several women raised the point that higher standards of dress seemed to be expected of women than of men.

Item Twelve: *you felt at odds with being a police officer*

Four subjects chose to respond to this prompt. Two of the incidents involved the relationship which had been established between a policewoman and a member of the public. In the first incident a shoplifter had been arrested. She was a young mother supported by benefits and, the time being just before Christmas, had stolen some food for her children. The police officer involved remembered being very unhappy about the woman being charged; she contacted social services and some local charities to try get goods for the woman. She would have preferred to helped rather than charge the woman as helping was what she had joined to do. The second incident took place over a period of several months. A girl who had run away from home was brought into the station; the young policewoman involved, then a probationer, became very friendly with the girl, gaining her trust and persuading her to return home. She established a rapport with her over the next few months, acting in a semi-social-work role. Then the girl ran off again and two weeks later was found in the flat of a known drug addict, dead from an overdose:

"*I just didn't want to be there, all I wanted to do was punch him in the face. That's all I wanted to do. I wasn't a police officer, I didn't want to be a police officer. I felt like crying because I'd seen her, wasted all my time talking to her, thinking I could make her happy.*" Subject 14.

The third respondent referred to her being constantly called on, as a woman, to deal with rape and child abuse cases. She referred to a time when she seemed to be dealing with "nothing but filth" and had felt so at odds with police work she had considered resigning.

The final incident concerned a specific cot death, but the respondent talked about the way cot deaths were treated in general. While recognising that sudden deaths had to be investigated in case a crime had been committed, she railed against the practices she had experienced, which treated all parents as potential criminals, at a time when they were shocked and distraught. The lack of sensitivity had been unnecessary; she had investigated more than a dozen cot deaths and all had turned out to be not suspicious in any way. She had felt completely at odds with being a policewoman when, instead of consoling parents, she had to take details of last feeds, take the cot bedding and so on. These incidents appear to have a common theme, that of the building of a caring relationship with the public as a part of normal policing practice.

Item Thirteen: *You felt unsure the police was for you*

Only two respondents responded to this item. One possible explanation for the low response rate to this item may be that those policewomen who were unsure would have left the force.

The first incident was recalled by a uniformed sergeant. She had attempted to set out guidelines for routine patrolling to involve the visiting of villages in outlying rural areas, in order for officers to get to know all members of the community. She believed it to be important for crime prevention for the police and the public to be familiar with each other. In one instance she came across some elderly people who were having a hard time, living in unsuitable housing. She had contacted appropriate welfare services but felt

that she could be more useful to the public if she were something other than a police officer. (This feeling did pass).

The other incident was recalled by a constable who at the time had about five years service. She had become bored with the daily routine of the seaside town where she was posted, and applied, with three other policemen from her station, to the Bermuda police who were running a recruitment campaign. She felt that this would not be like being a real police officer, something which at the time she was fed up with being. The other three were accepted and two actually went, but she received a letter saying the Bermuda police did not recruit foreign women. She met one of the two who had joined some eighteen months later; on being asked what Bermuda was like, he replied that it was just telling people where the shops and toilets were - exactly the aspects of policing she had been hating.

The two incidents both appear to reflect a need for fulfilment of personal goals and values in working life.

Item Fourteen: *You lifted yourself out of a rut*

This critical incident item elicited stories from three interviewees. All three recalled being fed up with the nature of the policework in which they had been involved. In two cases the women lifted themselves out of a rut by moving to different work; one woman felt she was becoming lazy and incompetent in her routine patrol work in the suburban "*Sleepy Hollow*" (subject 2) to which she had been assigned and pushed to be transferred to the Drug Squad where there had been a vacancy. The second PC felt unfulfilled by the port duties she performed everyday; she eventually admitted the level of stress she was experiencing as a consequence, and insisted on a transfer back to uniformed patrol duties. In the third incident a sergeant exercised her powers as a more senior officer; on achieving promotion she felt her policing skills were being ignored and replaced by paperwork. She therefore adjusted duties within her small station, produced a more democratic and harmonious work environment, and found this left her with more opportunity for what she termed "real" policework (subject 11).

In all three incidents the women took action as a consequence of feeling lack of fulfilment in their work. Each acted within the constraints of the police force to achieve a more fulfilling work role.

Item Fifteen: *You felt your training had been useless*

The response of most of the women to this item was that training, however limited in nature, was never useless. Three women did select this item; two referred in their stories to self defence training. One woman felt that self-defence had not really been taken seriously and as a result, when faced with an attacker she had been unable to remember where to place her hands and feet. The training had given a general idea of self-defence but had not taken them to the skills level of performance (Reason, 1987). She had been asking for a higher-level self defence course for over a year at the time of interview. The other woman who referred to an incident related to self-defence training, suggested that the training had been too mechanistic; she understood where to hold people but not the principles of why certain holds were effective. Consequently when she was attacked by a drug-user who didn't use the holds she had been taught her training was of no use to her.

The third incident concerned training into practice and implementation of the law. At the time this PC had gone through training, role-plays were in widespread use for teaching the procedures of booking and charging; she felt that the lectures in law had been excellent but the practicals in no way prepared her for the realities of what had to be done, even in simple cases such as illegal parking.

The three incidents had to do with the everyday practicalities of policework and the lack of any mechanism for feeding back into the training system the problems and needs of serving officers.

Item Sixteen: *You achieved particularly good results.*

This item was chosen by ten policewomen. Four of the stories related to having good policing/investigative skills, four of the stories related to a sense of a good result in terms of the effect of the outcome on the public, and two related to a good result with the policewoman specifically being pleased

with a result in the sense that she as a woman had made herself part of the achieving team.

Good outcomes as consequence of having developed good police skills were the themes of four stories. On woman recalled an incident which had happened when she had fifteen months service. A youth had, she was certain, been responsible for the theft of a bicycle; after careful matching of witness statements and observations of the youth, she decided the best place to confront him would be in his own home, with his mother present. At first he denied the offence but, as she had predicted, his mother told him that if he had done wrong he should admit it, and he did so. She felt that good detective work, and an understanding of the community and its values contributed to her success. A very different story was recalled by a sergeant who felt her success had been in achieving, after weeks of visits and talks, the confidence of a very young child abuse victim so she could feel "*I've got that trust in you and I'm going to share all my experiences with you*" (subject 4). Another policewoman recalled a success over a bounced cheque. It had been used to pay for a ferry ticket and hence the registration number of the car had been taken. The bank would release no details but she followed up the registration number of the car and traced it to an address in Newbury. However the police there were unable to trace the name on the cheque to the registered address of the car owner. Six months later she saw a report of a race meeting and recognised the name of one of the jockeys as the name on the bounced cheque. She phoned the race course and asked what kind of car the jockey drove. The make and colour of the car were the same but the registration number had been changed; investigation revealed the owner had fitted false plates and he was charged and convicted of the cheque fraud.

Other subjects described incidents in which the good result, though consequent on good policework, was framed in terms of the benefit to the community. Getting a man to admit to a violent assault on his ex-girlfriend was a success not primarily because of the PC's interviewing skills, but because the victim had the satisfaction of seeing justice done. Similarly, a DC recalled her pleasure at convicting a central figure in the local drug and prostitution rings because of the positive effect this would have on the local community. A superintendent reported her achievement in setting

objectives which weighed crime detection with crime prevention, community relations and equal opportunities; clear-up rates had been improved but more importantly to her, there had been fewer assaults on officers, fewer complaints and more commendations from the public, all indicators of a better-served public. A constable referred to an incident of sudden death of a child; she had to interview the parents who were described by their solicitor as "*They're real dumbos, you'll have no chance*"; the policewoman talked to them and explained the situation for eight hours and they responded, in her words "*brilliantly*"; their solicitor even wrote to force headquarters complimenting her on her skill and patience. Her satisfaction came from feeling the parents understood what had happened and could start coming to terms with the loss of a child.

Two of the respondents saw their achievement of good results in terms of their performance enabling them to be accepted as women into an all-male team; one talked about a chase and a fight and remembered receiving a commendation, while the other woman recalled being accepted, for the first time, as a member of a team investigating a serious assault.

The nature of the incidents recalled reflect a concern with performance in the role of police officer (both as effective and as part of a team) and with the consequences of police investigations and police behaviour for the public.

Item Seventeen: *You felt proud of something you had done.*

It was anticipated that responses to this item might overlap with the responses to item sixteen but in fact the incidents chosen by the twelve women selecting this item reflected personal achievements which were not always things which could be viewed objectively as "success".

Four of the women described situations in which they felt pleased at the way in which they had used their initiative to make judgements about the best way to deal with an investigation. These reflected good policing practice but did not necessarily lead to charges. One woman described being on patrol at 2 a.m. with the rest of her relief inside playing cards. She noticed a van parked in a layby and having decided to investigate, succeeded in arresting

three men who had just carried out a robbery. She felt pleased with her policing tactics and also that she had resisted the pressure to stay inside the police station. Another described diffusing a tense atmosphere in a pub, having been called there because of a fight. Everyone left satisfied and she had been pleased to have dealt with the affair without having had to arrest anyone. One PC decided to treat a woman who had witnessed a murder of one drug addict by another as a witness rather than as an accessory; this meant vital prosecution evidence was obtained which could not have been had the woman been interviewed under caution. A woman who made false accusation of rape was recalled by another officer; after lengthy interviewing and the arrest of an accused man the woman confessed to having lied. The police officer recognised her to be suffering from depression and being in poor personal circumstances and it was decided to refer her to a helping agency, and she was not charged with an offence.

Another group of stories reflected pride in having helped the public; two officers cited being able to get financial help for offenders who had offended because of their poverty. Another reported her pride in having taken an excellent statement from a rape victim and secured a conviction. Her pride was because the conviction had been important for the victim.

Four of the women recalled pride in personal achievements ranging from learning new skills, taking a difficult statement from a child who had been assaulted by a stranger and getting a compliment for the statement from senior officers to convincing the judge during a trial (with the jury out of the courtroom) that her evidence was reliable and truthful and that the conditions of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1985) (P.A.C.E.) had been adhered to.

In summary, the narratives produced in response to this item referred to pride in personal achievement (rather than the commendations of others), pride in using good judgement and initiative and gaining fulfilment in making sound policing decisions, and pride in being sensitive to the needs of the public with whom they were dealing.

Item Eighteen: *You felt you had to adapt to police ways*

Six women responded to this item. Most of the incidents referred to specific situations in which being in the police had affected every-day social decisions ie where non-work aspects of their lives were affected by the nature of their work. Most common was the comment that the people with whom the women could associate were restricted; they had experiences themselves of being told that an acquaintance was unsuitable. Similarly three of the women commented that there were checks made on where they lived; before they had purchased their houses the location had to be approved. Others reported having changed their way of thinking about things; subject eighteen said that she had entered the police believing in the inherent goodness of people but now she tended to the belief that most offenders were just bad. An officer with less than three years service told of being accused by her three best friends, all teachers, of having been brainwashed by the police. She felt the adaptation to have been beneficial to her; she was no longer shy but now spoke up, was livelier and always had to get involved in things. Yet another woman, young in service, said her friends had been shocked at her allowing her employers to dictate where she lived and to ban her from belonging to a political party. One woman summarised the forces facing a woman joining the police service:

"*You **have** to be part of the organisation, you cannot have views outside it.*" (subject 18).

Item Nineteen: *You felt very close to colleagues*

Twelve women selected an incident within this category. Six of the incidents referred to the necessity of being close to colleagues either in order to be effective as a team, or as a consequence of being in a team. Subject Ten recalled an incident where she had been attacked and called for emergency backup from colleagues:

"*Two of us were involved in a fight with three and we had lots of help and at the end of it you feel very close*".

Although she had broken two fingers she had very positive feelings about

the experience and had felt more confident that she could rely on colleagues. A DC commented that in CID work colleagues were so close that they were more important to each other than family. The general belief was that while very good and very bad incidents brought colleagues together, police officers had to be close at all times in order to work effectively.

Two officers reported incidents in which they said they had felt close to colleagues but on reflection, believed that the closeness was in fact superficial. One held the view that the reason for her feeling close to colleagues at a time of personal difficulty was that, as a consequence of being a policewoman, she had noone else apart from her husband (a policeman) to whom she *could* feel close.

Four of the incidents referred to occasions when the women had felt close to particular colleagues who had shown special sensitivity to them. One woman, recently separated from her partner, had been invited to spend Christmas with a colleague and his family. A single PC who lived with her elderly mother found roses on her desk on Valentines Day, a present from two young male colleagues, and on her birthday a meal was cooked for her, with wine, by the same two. An officer recalled visiting a young PC, seriously injured in a car crash in which a colleague had been killed, and hearing him say to her "*Ma'am, you know I would die for you*" - and believing him. And a constable recalled a day when her distrust of her gossiping colleagues had changed, when after failing her promotion interview for sergeant, she sat in the police car with a colleague:

"*I would never tell a policeman anything because I feel he cannot keep it to himself but this particular policeman listened and he said 'Don't worry now, have a good cry, I won't say anything' and he was so comforting, it was unbelievable, you know.*" Subject 3.

The responses to this item could be grouped as a) incidents where closeness was felt to colleagues generally either as a consequence of the nature of the work or as an essential prerequisite for the work to be done, b) closeness which was artificial in the sense that closeness to colleagues was really an isolation from non-police-officers and c) closeness to specific colleagues as a consequence of particularly sensitive behaviour on their part. Closeness

was seen as desireable but not always attainable.

Discussion

From the analysis of the incident items discussed above, themes emerged which related to the women's experiences and also to the concept of conflict presented within the literature on identity discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Particular topics formed the substance of recurring themes in the stories told by the policewoman. These were identified as being:

1) The experience of conflict between police duties being oriented towards caring and the long-term outcomes for the public or being oriented towards immediate enforcement of the law. Within this there are two intrinsically related polarities with respect to police duties and responsibilities, one of 'caring-not caring' and a temporal polarity 'now-later', referring to the time-span over which actions and consequences needed to be considered.

2) The conflict of loyalties and duties towards personal and/or family relationships, responsibilities and needs, and loyalties to fellow workers and the work itself. These conflicts are underscored by police regulations and by discipline practices.

3) The recognition that there are possible conflicts of duty between the police as a public servants having responsibilities to the public and police-work as an employment culture in which duty and loyalty to colleagues is given great emphasis. A consequence of the lack of direct entry into the police force is that all officers of whatever current rank have come through from constable and so have been exposed to socialisation within the police culture, socialisation which encompassed views of "appropriate" behaviour at each status level of the force.

4) The conflicts between the need to be accepted as part of the police community and the recognition that that acceptance did not form part of the policewoman's personal experience.

5) The recognition or experience of a desire for satisfaction and fulfilment in work and the recognition that not all aspects of policework supply that

fulfilment.

There was also a general recognition that aspects of police practice and behaviours influenced police-public relations and attitudes of the public towards the police force. In addition there was considerable comment on the routine paperwork required of police officers as part of their duties and the belief that such paperwork was neither relevant to the policewomen's image of policework nor was it intrinsically satisfying. It was held that such work took time which was then not available for "real" policing. Important through these issues were they were not included specifically in the themes for examining conflict and its resolution as they did not appear to be issues which fed into the dynamics of identity of policewomen.

The part played by formal and informal police structures in mediating the experiences and identities of policewomen is quite clear; certain practices are legitimised, or at least unofficially sanctioned, by the culture of the police. Thus behaviour which would be viewed in other contexts as sexual harassment (e.g. the placing of inflated condoms in a woman's locker), as discrimination (e.g. the exclusion of women from certain specialisms such as Traffic Patrol) as or as malpractice (e.g. the practice of sitting playing cards instead of doing patrol duties) are permissible either because the formal structures of command and the code of discipline allow officers in key decision-making nodes, such as a Chief Superintendent in charge of Traffic for a Division, to make decisions about staffing which are unchallengeable from below, or because the culture of policing encourages, if not requires, such behaviour.

Police culture is incorporated into every police officer's concept of self; the fundamental cause of this is the fact that no matter what the current rank held, all police officers started their career as probationer constables. The function of informal police culture is to maintain a sense of collective purpose and identity in an organisation which requires teamwork and which often faces hostility from outside; its practice is to not only sanction inappropriate responses (inappropriate in an objective sense of social accountability) in certain areas of behaviour but to actually encourage it as a way of enforcing a 'them and us' view of the world. Police culture is masculine (Fielding, 1988); the consequence for women of this informal

masculine culture and the dominance of men in formal key positions of authority and decision-making, which allows discriminatory practices which are not challengeable, is that to maintain a sense of continuous identity and personal value requires confrontation of conflicts and contradictions across different situations.

The dynamics of conflict in the Critical Incident interviews

In order to develop an understanding of the complex contradictions experienced by policewomen and illustrated in the responses to the Critical Incident items discussed above, it was decided to study more closely the domains of these conflicts.

The five themes of conflict outlined above had their basis in their derivation from the data (what Geertz (1973) called 'thick descriptions') and their location in both the literature on policework and the formal context of policing. Further validation of these was then made.

Five categories are listed below. The following pages contain short statements made by serving female police officers. Please read each statement carefully and then choose a number from 1 to 5 which you believe best reflects the substance of the statement. Write the appropriate number at the end of each statement. Do not worry if you feel that some other (unlisted) category would be more appropriate. Simply choose the most appropriate category from the five listed below. Take as long as necessary to complete the task but please respond to each statement.

Category 1	Caring - Enforcement
Category 2	Personal relationships - Work relationships
Category 3	Public duty - Duty to colleagues
Category 4	Loneliness - Acceptance
Category 5	Fulfilment - Lack of fulfilment

Fig. 7.3 Instructions to raters. Further details are given in the text.

As with any qualitative analysis technique, categorisation of data runs the risk of introducing systematic bias and/or arbitrary categorisation. It is not

possible to eliminate the possibility of bias associated with this technique, however, one may at least establish the reliability of categorisation and thus minimise arbitrariness by rejecting statements which are not reliably categorised. The reliability of categorising four hundred and eight statements that were extracted from the interview transcripts was estimated using ten raters. Selection of the statements was made on the basis of their communicative value with respect to the incident item chosen. At least sixteen statements were extracted from each transcript. The list of statements (Appendix E) and instructions for categorisation (fig. 7.3) were given to ten independent raters. The raters' task was to indicate which of the five categories best reflected each of the statements. No time limit was imposed upon the raters. In effect, this was a five alternative forced choice task. This is an important point for interpretation of results since the forced choice protocol should yield a reliable estimate of the appropriate category within the context of the rating task. For instance, assume that all raters place statement *j* in category *n;* the rating does not indicate that statement *j* only relates to category *n*, rather, the rating indicates that *j* is more strongly related to category *n* than any of the alternative categories. Strong agreement (reliability) between raters therefore allows us to confidently distinguish between categories whilst weak agreements may be eliminated.

The category assignments of all the raters were collated, in order to derive for each statement an estimate of its 'category' by examining the consistency with which raters assigned it to a category. Statements were deemed to belong to a category if 7 out of the 10 raters assigned the statement to that category (i.e. 70% agreement). Statements which were not assigned to any one category by at least seven of the raters were excluded from the analysis. The distribution of category responses within each category is shown in figure 7.4.

Fig. 7.4 shows the subjects' combined response rates for individual statements for each of the five categories as a function of the cumulative response frequency. The cumulative number of responses is plotted with respect to response frequency (0 through 10). Where a category was never chosen for a particular statement it was coded as 0%. Inspection indicates that no single category was chosen more than 200 times by any subject. However, certain categories were chosen more frequently than others (notably

categories 4 and 5).

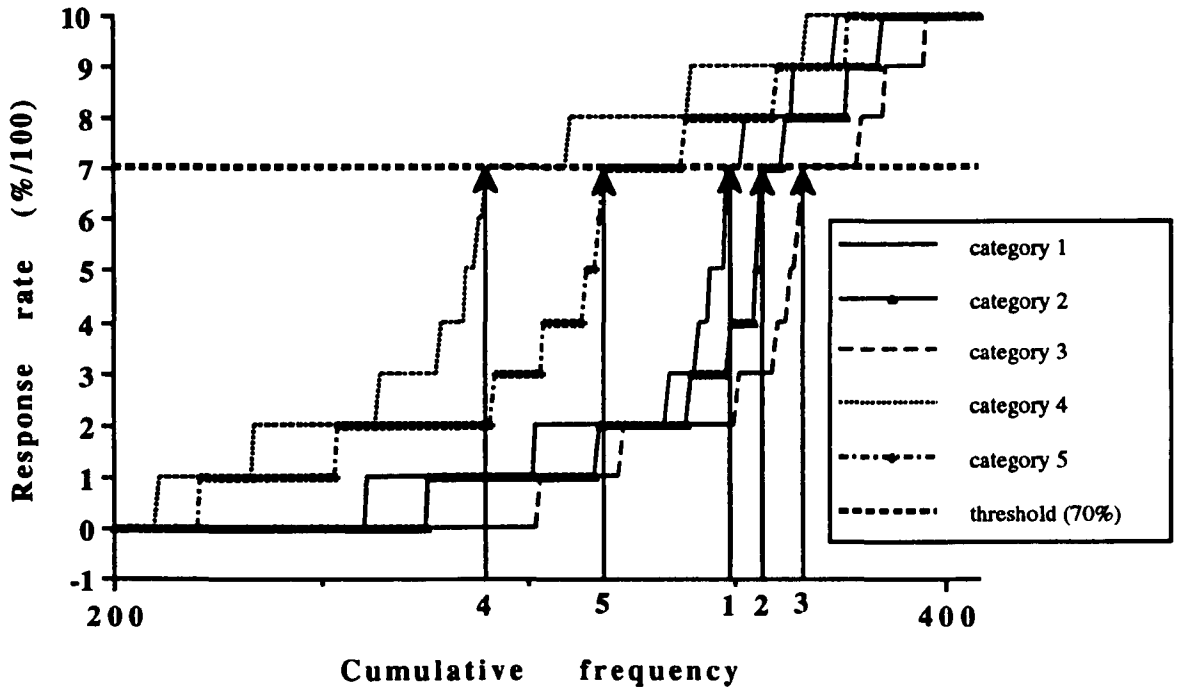

Fig. 7.4 The graph show the response rate (abscissa) for each of the five categories as a function of the cumulative response frequency (ordinate) for respective categories (non-responses were coded as zero). The bold numbers (1 through 5) below arrowed lines indicate the respective threshold cut-offs (70% point) for the five categories. Whilst the absolute number of total responses (other than zero) for each category varies from around 200 to 250, inspection indicates that the gradients of the five functions are similar, suggesting a rightward shift of the functions associated with those categories with fewer total responses.

The fact that these categories have proportionately more statements assigned (on the basis of the 70% threshold criterion) indicates that the gradient of all five functions functions is similar. The gradient of these functions is a measure of the certainty or discriminability of the categories; the steepness of the slope indicating not only a "majority verdict" for one category, but also how many subjects assigned a particular statement to a different category. For instance, if half the subjects always assigned a statement to category 1 then only two further subjects' responses would be required to constitute an assignment to that category. Such a situation would produce only a moderate increase in the slope of the function and indicate little certainty of discriminability from other categories for that statement. However, Fig. 7.4 shows that all functions have similar and

relatively steep slopes, with very few statements yielding equivocal responses. Furthermore, the similarity of the functions' slopes indicates that there are no qualitative differences in the subjects' responses for the five categories, e.g. in terms of ease of categorisation. Statements allocated at the 70% level of agreement to a category were thus used as the basis for a further analysis of the critical incident interviews. Those which did not fall into a category by these criteria were excluded from the next stage of the analysis; a list of statements within each category is in Appendix E.

Sites of Conflict and Coping Strategies

1. *Caring - Enforcement*

Gilligan (1982) conceived of women as having an orientation towards relationships in dealing with problems in the everyday world. Other researchers (e.g. Marshall, 1984; McCaulley, 1987) have also noted a female orientation towards caring, this being seen as complementary, rather than counterposed, to achievement, even amongst women in occupations traditionally viewed as achieving-oriented rather than caring-oriented. However the literature on policewomen reviewed in chapter 1 leads to an expectation that successful policewomen, while valuing caring, would have a primary orientation towards law enforcement. The incidents described earlier than this chapter and the linguistic devices within which these incidents were narrated, suggest that for most of the women interviewed the tension between the view of policework as being primarily working for a long-term public good, rather than seeking that good through strict (and immediate) law enforcement constituted a major source of conflict. Subject 18, a detective sergeant, talked about a case in which a woman had been charged with the manslaughter of her elderly mother who had been suffering from an extremely painful disease which left her permanently confined to her bed, but which had not been immediately life-threatening:

"*As I said before about the punishment fitting the crime, none of us wanted.. er.. we were trying our best not for her to go to prison. Because she didn't deserve to go to prison, so you were trying to achieve the best all round. You had to solve the crime, she had to be absolved of her complicity of what she'd done*"

The sergeant felt this case had been well investigated and written up by the her in that the outcome for the woman had been a period of probation, conditional on her receiving medical treatment, rather than a prison sentence.

This was not the only woman to identify situations where "*If I've got to lock someone up then I will do but I would certainly rather help people which is what the police are there for*" (subject 13).

The findings from the questionnaire analysis (chapter 6) do suggest that the image of police work predominant in entrants to the police force is one of public service. Although autonomy and relative freedom from the routine of the "*nine to five*" are important, the opportunity to do something for the greater public good is a powerful motive in the decision to make a career in policing. This concurs with the findings of other research into women police officers such as those of Perlstein (1972); Marshall (1973) noted that policewomen were less likely to use powers of arrest or issue notification of an intent to summons for minor offences (such as traffic misdemeanours) and were more likely to use persuasion to enforce the law. Homant and Kennedy (1985) observed that policewomen were more likely than were policemen to show patience and sympathy in domestic disputes with men being more likely to adopt an enforcement role [1]; in addition women were more likely to spend time listening and to provide helpful information to the public. The policewomen interviewed in this study were explicit about their personal priorities in police work, although recognising that these were not necessarily shared with male colleagues or with force management:

"*As far as I'm concerned there's a lot of social work involved in the police force and its certainly about that. It's about helping people as much as you can which is the stupid reason I joined in the first place, thinking I was going to be helping people*" Subject 16.

Women reported great satisfaction in the level of autonomy they were

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[1] In this study, female officers reported that while male officers were unsympathetic in domestic disputes, they were also reluctant to involve themselves in a law enforcement role (see Critical Incident item 10).

permitted in the treatment of people whom they saw as social victims rather than as criminals. A uniformed sergeant described her feeling of achievement when a shoplifter was given help:

"*She stole some clothes from Mothercare, now I could understand that and I was able to get hold of her doctor and, you know, we tied the ends up nicely so I didn't feel she was persecuted and she got the help she needed. In fact they cautioned her in the end which was even better..... and that's the type of thing I enjoy*" Subject 11.

The ability to put themselves in the place of both offenders and victims of crime was obviously important to the policewomen, and informed a large aspect of their working lives. Most of the interviewees expressed a particular interest in being competent in investigating sexual offences because of their significance for the victim and because:

"*Men can't empathise in the same way. I always think the woman has got to think "Oh, this could be me" and this could be my complaint that goes down the Swannee because someone hasn't done the job properly*" Subject 10

Empathy was displayed to both victims and perpetrators of crime and if this was mainly directed to females this was not always the case. One young woman newly completed her probationer period recalled feeling sorry for two young men being charged with offences related to the condition of their car; she felt a bond of common age with them which she admitted was totally irrelevant to the offence - nevertheless had she not been accompanied by another officer she would have given a verbal warning rather than charge them. The conflict between the social and law-enforcement aspects of policing appeared to develop with experience on the job, "*I remember the first day I went out and I just thought "God help the poor bugger who comes along .... because he's mine*" (Subject 10), in spite of the commitment to a view of policing as public service being commonly given as reasons for joining the force (chapter 6). When the need for punishment was recognised as appropriate, the views of the women were expressed in the comment of Subject 18 that: "I *think the punishment has got to fit, not just the crime but the person who committed that crime and I don't think that always happens*".

One conflict expressed explicitly by the interviewees was the lack of time allowed them to do their job adequately. This affected all aspects of their work and complaints about paperwork emerged (often recurringly) in each interview; however the contexts in which this was seen as particularly problematic were those cases involving the policewoman in a caring role. Several women commented on the difficulty of finding time to continue the contacts which force policies recommended with victims of sexual offences, and noted that the recommendations bore little relationship to allocation of time for duties by those directly overseeing their work. The availability of staff to do the most basic work was lacking; there was a shortage of policewomen to conduct interviews with children and with female adult victims of sexual assault. There was a belief that the management failed recognise the need for training for such work which reflected a lack of understanding of the long-term significance of the assault for the victim:

"*They don't tend to call people off duty for that, they'll send miles for someone who's on duty rather than phone a woman who's been trained. I don't know how other women would feel but I certainly wouldn't mind being called in off duty for something like that*" Subject 20.

The lack of women in higher levels of decision making was put forward as a reason for the lack of understanding of the needs for police women to have "caring time"; as one woman put it:

"*I think deep down men would rather go out there and deal with a bloke armed with a gun who's trying to shoot anybody than go to a woman who has found her baby dead*" Subject 4.

One of the apparent reasons for the women feeling the need for their involvement in cases beyond solely a law-enforcement role was their perception that the victims of crime, not only of assaults and sex crimes but all criminal acts, were excluded from the legal process. While all three forces recommended that investigating officers kept victims up to date with the progress of a case, in practice this did not always happen and this was particularly likely if a case was marked "*No further action*" or lost in court:

"*There's noone there, noone comes up other than the officer in the case to tell the victim what has happened and why its all happened and what went wrong*" Subject 18.

Thus the problems of time pressures on policewomen was viewed not only in terms of their personal need for work satisfaction, to see a job through to the end, but also stemmed from a feeling that the public were being ill-served by such policing strategies.

The policewomen were, as would be expected, also concerned with the punishment aspect of policing, particularly when punishment or inadequate or non-existent punishment had consequences for the wider public. Some of the women saw their experiences as police officers as orienting them to focus on enforcement, possibly to the detriment of public service:

"*We see things differently, our idea is law enforcement. that's what we're trained to do isn't it ? We're not trained to look at the wider horizons.*" Subject 12.

Others viewed their experiences as police officers as having directed them to supporting punishment for a few for the benefit of the many:

"*When I first started I thought 'Let's give them all a chance', I never believed in capital punishment, never. I thought it was a terrible thing, but now I'm getting to the stage where I totally believe in it.*" Subject 16.

"*People, I call them 'do-gooders', if they knew the reality, you get boys of 15 into the police station, you know you nick them and they're telling you how to fill in the forms and 'Oh yeah', you know, 'You've forgotten this bit' and they know their CRO number and I sometimes despair of that.*" Subject 7.

However it was noted that whatever were the women's ideas of good policing practice - provision of a public service and appropriate punishment - in terms of their own career progress:

"*You are judged by how many arrests you get rather than how much of a service you actually provide and I think that's wrong*" Subject 20.

Despite their obvious commitment to police work as a service, at times analogous to supportive social services, these women had to cope with the values and tastes which they brought with them to policework and at times had to overcome distastes or even fears in order to achieve their ideal of good police behaviour. One of the women commented that for most "decent" people their only contact with the police would be if their cars or homes were burgled; most of the police contacts were with unpleasant people and unpleasant situations, sometimes physically unpleasant:

"*You wipe your feet going in, and you wipe them coming out.*" Subject 22.

and sometimes making the policewoman confront personal fears:

" *I don't like blood, but I'd be the first to help someone, you know I know my job and I'd overcome that fear for that.*" Subject 14.

Even when the policewomen expressed disgust at a situation they attempted to maintain a professional orientation to the work and to try to understand situations in which offences were committed. After dealing with several cases of child abuse by the father, one woman reported feeling more sympathy with the mother as she better understood such a woman's situation:

"*I used to get angry with the women who stuck by the husband, and then for a number of years I've thought, Well sometimes I can understand, because the husband goes out to work, the mum is stuck at home with a house full of kids, and is totally dependent on the husband*" Subject 4.

Responses to Contradictions

In chapter 2 the strategies of negativism (confrontation), isolation, compliance and passing were identified as ways in which social scientists had described the responses to individuals experiencing threat to or conflict in their identities. At the end of chapter 3, the three strategies of confrontation, coping and denial were proposed as explaining the processes through which contradictions in identity could be dealt with. In what ways then did these women deal with the contradictions facing them in the

domain of caring-enforcement?

It is noticeable that denial did not appear to be a strategy for any of the women interviewed. Even when law-enforcement was seen as the police goal (i.e. as the management goal) the need for caring was acknowledged. In general the women sensed their own responses to be different from those of male colleagues, but this in no sense represented a feeling that they (the women) were somehow less good police officers. Rather they saw caring as an inextricable and equal component of policework:

"*The problems the police force have got at the moment would be resolved to a large extent by highlighting the service side of it*" Subject 21.

However confrontation was not always possible because of the disciplinary code of police work. Although stories relating to the caring-enforcement domain were produced in the context of critical incident item 2, "You felt you had to speak out" such as that told by a young constable who criticised her senior officer for allowing an untrained woman to conduct a rape interview, the hierarchical nature of police command structures makes it difficult in practice for officers to confront on specific cases. Contradictions occurring in this domain manifest themselves typically in specific situations rather than in more generalised contexts which could possibly be more easily used as a basis for confrontation. Thus the strategy used by most of the women was one of coping; they maintained their belief in the police service as a service agency as well as an enforcing one, while maximising the limited opportunities for caring. In addition, they often used time for which the police were not paying (e.g. after work before going home or off-duty periods) to maintain contacts with the public whether victims of crime or not "*I sit on the benches with the old men and chat and talk because they know a lot*" Subject 5. One issue emerging quite clearly from this site of contradiction is the lack of any communication structure within which to feed back to the policy makers in the police force ideas, information and dissatisfactions stemming from experiences in everyday policing. Issues specifically relating to training and conditions of service can be communicated via the Police Federation but everyday policing ideas and problems have no outlet.

In summary the personal conflicts raised by the women interviewed related to situations where it was not possible to implement both caring and enforcement and in which enforcement had to be given priority; situations where the demands placed on the women's time by their senior officers led to their feeling unable to do the job as they would wish to do it, in particular in providing care and support to victims of crime, but more generally in the pressure of paperwork preventing good policing practices; situations in which the recognition was made that punishment could be seen as part of a wider arena of public welfare; and situations where personal distaste and anxiety had to be overcome because of the professional responsibilities (in both caring and enforcement) of the policewomen.

The coping strategy used was one of compromise; however the aspirations of the women were retained but moderated by the pragmatics of working within the police force:

"*All I wanted to do was to help the public, but now as the years have gone by I've realised you can't be the social worker, the lifesaver, the someone who extinguishes fires, basically the job is to detect and prevent crime*" Subject 15.

2. *Personal relationships - work relationships*

It has already been noted that women are perceived by male colleagues and superiors to be more influenced by their gender roles (e.g. wife, girlfriend, mother daughter) in their patterns of work behaviour and absences from work than are men (Spencer and Podmore, 1984; McCaulley, 1987). McCaulley (1987) observed that this perception was not substantiated when the actualities of the pattern of women's working lives were examined. However relationships entail emotional and practical responsibilities and it appeared from the interviews that these significantly informed the day to day experiences of policewomen. Not only did being a policewoman impact on existing and new relationships outside the police force, it was felt by some women that when male officers adopted patterns of behaviour or made demands on colleagues as a consequence of their roles as sons, fathers or husbands they received more favourable treatment than did a woman in

similar circumstances. In essence this follows the findings of Homans (1987) study of female scientists working in the National Health Service and McCauley's study (1987) of women lecturers in higher education; in both cases women seeking absence for reasons of caring were worse treated and more likely to be denigrated than were their male counterparts.

Within this domain of contradiction there seemed to be five main areas of conflict and concern for the police women. These related to the conflict between social/family ties and responsibilities and the personal goals of the policewoman within her career; the conflicts between the (desirable) ties of work, getting involved with cases, and the duties of her relationships outside the workplace; the conflict between her responsibilities with respect to personal relationships and with respect to work and work values; the conflict experienced as a police officer where the nature of the job either leads to a restricted social circle generally or a restricted social life because of being a policewoman; and the conflict consequent on having and wanting specific personal responsibilities outside the workplace which are considered unimportant by senior officers - if indeed they are considered at all.

It was clear from these interviews that for a proportion of women their working lives took precedence over their personal lives. For these women the assumptions that they would not mind being kept back at work or being called in for overtime at very short notice were well founded:

"*I always put one hundred percent into it mind, I got married and it comes second....he has his grumps when I go home sometimes but I say "Well, you knew what it entailed before you married me*" Subject 3.

This comment was from a very ambitious police constable with five years service. She was not the only one for whom the personal goals of achievement were more important than family or social ties although not all women felt able to respond in the same way:

"*I wanted to stay because I wanted to get involved, I would have stayed all night but I had this appointment*" (sergeant (subject 18) talking about a small but complicated robbery case in which she had been involved).

Other women expressed regret that their professional standards had been adversely affected by experiences in their private lives. One woman commented how, when her relationship with a partner was ending, her work had been badly affected but while initially the quality of her work worried her "*...at the end it was my salvation*" Subject 15.

For other officers it was the difficulty in responding to the demands of good work practices and the demands of a private life which produced inner conflict. At certain points in the policewoman's career this conflict cannot be hidden or pushed aside and this is particularly the case when she is required to attend a training course:

"*I don't want to do a course. Its being away from home. It was nice when I was single but not now.*" Subject 6.

"*I don't like being sent on courses. I don't like being away from home, so I don't go.*" Subject 9.

"*I don't like going away, I didn't want to leave for three weeks but at the end of it I did realise that I had gone rusty on certain aspects of the law.*" Subject 4.

One of the outcomes of the intensity of their emotional commitment to policework was that at times fellow officers seemed more important than any outside contacts, even the family. This was particularly the case when officers had been involved in a particularly difficult case. One woman suggested although difficult cases made her feel close to colleagues it was the long-term interdependency which brought about the real closeness:

"*We see more of each other than we do of our families.*" Subject 2.

It is perhaps this closeness, or the potential for it, which made male officers so wary of telling their wives anything about female colleagues. This was a point which recurred frequently in the policewomen's narratives and the women adopt different ways of overcoming the problem:

"*I always, when I'm working with a married policeman, make sure I get to know his wife.*" Subject 5.

"*Its very difficult being a woman because they are so careful with their wives. They tell their wives nothing about your existence.*" Subject 17.

Some women felt their work dominated their lives to the exclusion of everything. Subject 9 commented "*Trouble is all I do is eat, sleep and come to work. I don't have any social life*". Even if this problem was overcome it was often felt that demands of work had to take priority over any private life:

"*Many times I've arranged to see them (friends) at 9 o'clock and I've just phoned them and I can't get away and it is difficult but they understand that now*". Subject 2.

For some women it often appeared that the responsibilities of their personal lives were simply incompatible with the responsibilities of their employment. One young constable described being involved in an incident in which she acquired a split lip:

"*I walked to the door and my Mum said "Oh my God", they said "what happened to you?", I said "I got hit on the lip". I could hardly talk and they were laughing at me but Mum was really worried*". Subject 14.

Whether or not policing is, as was suggested, by subject 17 ".. *a single person's job.... I was happy when I was single*", married women reported particular difficulties relating to responsibilities involved in caring for the family as a serving policewoman. A woman with a young baby and dying husband was refused compassionate leave, another noted the difficulty of arranging any kind of life with her husband:

"*I don't mind being given a weeks notice saying, 'Next week we're going to be working a week of evenings' but I can't accept just at the drop of a hat 'Yes, you will be doing this, that and the other.'*"" Subject 21.

The lack of understanding on the part of police management of the existence of a life outside police work appeared to be an almost universal complaint. In

addition, the women did not take kindly to doing compulsory overtime, particularly when they didn't get paid:

"*You work ridiculously long hours, any social plans are out of the window, and at the drop of a hat the phone goes or the boss approaches you and puff! you do it and you know you won't get paid for that because the purse will only allow you so many hours overtime and you are well past that*". Subject 15.

Lack of understanding of the women's personal responsibilities on the part of senior officers is claimed by the women to be shown in the lack of flexibility over hours of work A mother whose young daughter had broken an arm asked to be allowed home at 10 p.m. to bathe her as the girl was of an age to be shy about being washed by strangers. Her request was refused:

"*We ought to have people in personnel who are aware of the problems, who realise that yes, OK, you've got a very efficient, capable, effective policewoman here but she's got a young child and the child's got measles and wants Mummy - can't we see our way clear to allowing her or the father for that matter to have a few days.*" Subject 11.

The higher ranks within the police force were not the only people who did not understand the conflicts faced by policewomen. Several of the women found that their social life was restricted as a consequence of their employment, not as a result of explicit interference (as for example specifying where a policewoman should live) but simply because of the nature of the work.

However while some said that their job brought them so close to colleagues that they did not want to associate with anyone outside the police:

"*You do find that you're like a close knit family and you know everyone well on all the shifts*" Subject 13.

"I *have to switch off totally, to walk in and sit and listen about cousin so and so's O-levels "Oh, isn't it wonderful" or someone's new dress and this and that and all I want to do is scream*" Subject 1.

Others felt that only other police officers would tolerate their patterns of work, being a women, it was stated by several respondents, meant not being able to be a part of the police social culture:

"*The attitude to a lot of policewomen is that if she sleeps with one of the policewomen she's referred to as the station bike, if she doesn't, a few of them have tried it and she doesn't, she must be a lesbian. You know, if you're happily married they can just about accept it.*" Subject 16.

Other policewomen expressed no desire to be part of that culture:

"*What you find is that they talk shop, they talk shop, they eat live and sleep the job and once I leave this office I can assure you I don't think about the job for one minute*" Subject 17.

Responses to Contradictions

The significance of this domain of contradiction between women's identities inside and outside their place of work can be illustrated by the fact that it had been a cause of two of the women interviewed leaving, or planning to leave, their employment. One woman interviewed for this research was intending to hand in her notice and cited the lack of consideration shown her as a major cause of her planning to leave a job which she enjoyed. The other case was of a woman who had left one force and joined her current one after experiencing inflexibility and lack of sympathy from her senior officers.

Apart from quitting, the women adopted several different strategies for dealing with conflicts. Some opted for denial strategies, maintaining that there was no problem specifically with merging a police life with a significant private life. Another group chose confrontation (this included the woman who had earlier quit one force) and insisted that attention be paid to and allowance given for their personal lives. They had faced senior officers and insisted on time off, they had refused overtime duties when these conflicted with long standing personal arrangements and they eschewed the option of passing, pretending to be one of the lads, which a few

of the women saw as a way of relieving the tensions experienced. Those who chose coping strategies made strenuous effort to maintain good working and social practices without making demands on either colleagues of family and friends; however this group felt generally that being police officers had changed them and that this had been noticed by friends outside the force. The most effective use of this strategy was practised by those women who confined their social circle to other police officers.

Perhaps the contradictions faced by women in this domain, and their assessment of the value placed on them by colleagues senior officers, can be best summed up by subject 11:

"*Yes, they'll take on a man with a family because he's regarded as steady but in terms of a female with a family.....*".

3. *Duty to the Public - Duty to Colleagues*

One of the consequences of the need for closeness between police officers and their dependence on each other as part of everyday working routines, is that the culture produces an ethos of one hundred per cent loyalty to fellow officers. This can lead to situations in which conflicts occur between an officers loyalty to fellow officers and her loyalty to the public. For women officers focused on a conceptualisation of police work as public *service*, this can produce tensions; it is not just a question of loyalty to colleagues but her identity and security as a police officer which is bound up with not betraying an officer. (Police officers who are seen as betraying colleagues are not only disrupting their own sense of identity as police officers, they also risk social isolation at work and at worst face being the subject of a dirty tricks campaign, as for example in the case of John Stalker over the "Shoot to kill" allegations in Northern Ireland). At the same time, that identity is also bound up with ideas of responsibility to the public.

In chapter 4 it was noted that there appeared to be policies operating with respect to recruitment and deployment strategies which reflected a police federal identity going beyond the values of individual forces. A similar pattern, of values relating to occupation as a police officer rather than

dependent on individual force mores, emerged during analysis of this data. A sense of corporate identity, in which the police service as a whole took responsibility for events, was acknowledged by the policewomen interviewed. One woman commented that it was not until she was fully immersed in the police culture that she recognised faults within policing and by that time she was so much part of the system it would have been impossible for her to make waves and still stay in her job (subject 18). For many women the frustration lay in the impossibility of challenging what appeared to them to be a hidden agenda of appropriate behaviour:

"*That's definitely the most frustrating and anger producing, not being outside dealing with the public, but inside dealing with problems involving immediate colleagues and bosses*" Subject 15.

It seemed that many of the practices were directed towards an appearance of the maintenance of work practices acceptable to the public. These were often impossible to maintain in practice but allowed the police force to avoid taking responsibility for any negative outcomes. One woman commented on the rules which were supposed to apply during car chases. Police drivers would radio-in their location, their speed and the speed of the car being followed; if the chase continued for more than a few minutes in a busy or residential area, the officer would be told to cease the chase. What happened then, she said, would be that about five minutes later the driver would radio in and say that, by chance, he had encountered the chased car and was following it again. Everybody knew that in fact, the police driver would have been continuing the chase; however the fact that he had been told not to do so would enable senior officers to avoid responsibility in the event of any accident involving either the chased or the chasing car:

" *That's all they're concerned about "We told him to stop, and it's on the incident record*" Subject 13.

In spite of this practice being common knowledge, it was very difficult for any officer to speak out about it. However the police culture is itself dynamic and in content, if not in process, open to changes and this was noted by the policewomen, as exemplified in this comment on changing attitudes towards

a lazy officer:

"*This sergeant, the boys were hiding from him because he wanted to have a beer and they wanted to do their job because times have changed. This guy hasn't changed you know*" Subject 7.

An often voiced worry for the women was the extent to which, as they saw it, their male colleagues failed to take seriously their responsibilities to the public. This did not mean they were abusive to the public, although this too was a major anxiety (see below). Rather a large minority of their colleagues seemed not to recognise the importance of their work and associated responsibilities:

"*You've got a prisoner there and you're trying to talk to someone and they come in and start shouting remarks or talking about what they did last night.*" Subject 18.

"*He's an intelligent bloke the sergeant, but to my mind he uses the job. he goes off while he's on duty, shoots off and does his own thing*" Subject 7.

There was a feeling that much of what was supposedly in the interest of the public was done without the public's knowledge. One woman observed practices when dealing with witness statements:

"*They do deals with the defence and the prosecution, they deal and cross out what they don't want the court to hear*" Subject 22.

Another reported worry was the widespread view that some officers use the police force and their positions as officers to behave in unacceptable ways. These might range from their being arrogant or hostile with the public to being abusive:

"*They love that uniform and they use it for their own benefit which I don't think helps the public at all.*" Subject 17.

"*I despaired every time I was on duty with him quite frankly. because he has got the most terrible manner when he speaks to people. He speaks to people*

as though they're sub-human beings." Subject 16.

The policewomen also felt a conflict of loyalties when they observed colleagues being physically violent to members of the public without provocation:

"*There's always certain police officers that go out regularly on a Saturday night and get assaulted or regularly rub someone up the wrong way and starts a fight*" Subject 9.

"*Out of the job he was fine but when I was working with him I witnessed him assault people to antagonise them and I don't do that myself*" Subject 5.

Apart from any conflict of loyalties, the women noted that pragmatically such behaviour was disadvantageous since it antagonised the public and might make it less likely that they would help a police officer when needed. However policewomen reported finding it difficult to actually speak out whether in specific instances concerning individual colleagues or as a general response to a wider police audience. Although Subject 16 reported feeling "*I'm absolutely fed up with the police force at the moment. Really fed up because of the attitude of so many policewomen*", for all the women it was felt to be difficult to take any effective action, partly because of the sense of distaste associated with betraying a colleague and partly because of a sense of futility:

"*You never get your real opportunity and you know that if you speak out you're going to be moved or something is going to be done.*" Subject 17.

However for some women the consequences of not acting were so personally distasteful that they confronted the bad behaviour of colleagues:

"*I thought, 'Well, what the dickens am I to do here?'. I'd got a man who ranked higher than me dealing in a way that I would tell a probationer not to. So, foolishly I suppose, looking back, I got up and stood between this chap and the Inspector.*" Subject 6.

Confrontation could also be effective in communicating to other officers that

ideas which appeared to be the consensus attitude were actually not so:

"*Well you see, the stupid thing is they'll say things in front of each other and then when I'm on my own with them I'll say 'God, you looked really uncomfortable when so and so said something' and they'll say 'Yeah, I'm not really racist and I don't like to hear it', well why the hell go and laugh then, why the hell do men do it?*" Subject 10.

It took confidence and a strong sense of the need for police accountability to adopt the approach of this woman:

"*I'm not afraid to say 'Oh, I'm not doing that', you know 'I don't believe that's right and I'm not doing it.*' Subject 20.

More frequently however, the women recalled feeling unable to act against the code of uncritical acceptance of police practice:

"*On the odd occasion perhaps I haven't felt that we have dealt with something in the right way and I've felt like siding with the other side.*" Subject 11.

Sometimes they were made to defend behaviour which they viewed as indefensible as in the situation described by Subject 16, "*...he was always getting complaints made against him and then you would be dragged in to his complaint and then you would be feeling very uncomfortable*".

At times though, the women felt very strongly that the public criticised the police because they failed to understand both the scope and the limits of police authority. Very often comments in the press had to go undefended because of the confidentiality of case details. It was particularly stressful when an officer, working within constraints of staffing and budget, had a complaint made against her by a member of the public:

"*They ring up and they're so abusive because you haven't sent anybody and I mean you've got burglaries and God knows what outstanding, and you haven't got anyone to go and yet these people with abandoned cars which is a favourite you know, 'Well why haven't you sent anyone to check this*

car?"" Subject 13.

There was also the difference between police and public perceptions of success. One woman commented that in a situation where she might consider she had done a good job, for example in making a decision to give a verbal warning rather than charging a person, the public might be looking for a conviction for the offence. Thus:

"*What I consider a good result the public might not, its a personal thing*" Subject 12.

Responses to Contradictions

Within this domain of contradiction five areas of concern could be identified. These related to the corporate identity and responsibility of the police force which subsumed actions of individual officers and which defined appropriate behaviours, including establishing norms of secrecy concerning police activities; the problem of a lack of concern for public service and associated behaviours identified in some colleagues; specific problems with the attitudes and actions of policemen towards the public; the difficulties of speaking out to protect the public and the requirement to support a fellow officer regardless of personal feelings; and the problems police face in their dealings with the public when the public were unaware of the limited resources and powers of the police.

Passing for some women was the only way in which they could deal with the contradictions of occupying two identity positions. Within the occupational culture of the police, the requirement not to tell tales about colleagues or wider force practices is probably the dominant value. However several of the women did confront malpractices and this was not confined to the more experienced women with longer service. This particular domain of contradiction was one in which coping was difficult; the conflict presented was one in which two opposite views of police function confronted each other within the policewoman's experience; arguably the easiest strategy for a policewoman to adopt in such circumstances was that of isolation. As a woman within a male world she could abstract herself from the conflict between police and public values by denying her membership of the police

culture. However such a strategy would have a longer-term effect on the tenability of her position as *police*woman and would be likely to lead to her marginalisation. In the event this appears to be a strategy which none of these women chose to adopt. However, whether they confronted, coped or passed, they all expressed a particular perspective on police work:

"*The public wants a service from us.*" Subject 3.

4. *Loneliness - Acceptance*

The experiences of women in male-gendered working environments are shaped by their gender in ways which usually have negative outcomes (Spencer and Podmore, 1987). The precise nature of those outcomes will vary from woman to woman, according to the specifics of that work environment, her individual experiences and the strategies she adopts in dealing with any difficulties. Martin (1979) identified one of the problems experienced by policewomen as being isolation from the social and work lives of male officers; this isolation related to integration into normal work practices as well as integration into the social lives of colleagues and police culture.

This domain of contradiction related to loneliness as a policewoman. In part the loneliness lay in being a police officer, but most of the experiences of loneliness narrated by the interviewees related specifically to their experiences as women in the police force.

One of the reasons given by male officers for their antagonism to employing women on equal terms is that they are more at risk than are men when patrolling alone and are less likely to be able to cope in fight situations (Davis 1984). Many women acknowledged that they were unlikely to be as physically strong as a man and that this might lead to difficulties:

"*When you actually get involved in a situation, its always nice to say "oh yes, I've got a yellow belt and I can do the moves", there's no way you're going to do it in practice. I couldn't, maybe some of the men could*" Subject 23.

However the general consensus was that physical strength was not necessarily needed to deal with a fight, and that "Sometimes *a policewoman in a fight situation actually calms the situation*". This constable (Subject 5) then described how a woman passer-by who had observed a street brawl had complained to a senior officer about the lack of action of two male constables:

"*A woman witness said 'I could see the policewoman in the thick of it, she was brave sorting it out and there were two policemen standing and watching her', which was right but what she didn't know was these boys, they were talking to me and having a laugh and a joke but I felt if those policemen had spoken to them it would have been different.*"

Very often the physical threat came as a consequence of isolation rather than presence in a fight; one woman described being the wrong side of the gate when a football mob were trying to get into the grounds (she was on the same side as the mob, her colleagues were safely on the other side); her response was to try to keep them from her by lashing out with her handbag. Another woman described feeling physically alone because she had not brought her radio with her on going into a house to interview a man accused of assault:

"*I had to go and see her husband and I went on my own and there was no problem until he took his trousers off in front of me and I said 'oh, my God' and I didn't have a radio and then I thought 'that radio makes all the difference, that's your lifeline' and I didn't have that* " Subject 16.

Working under cover, not surprisingly, also produced feelings of loneliness. Several women commented on their suitability, as women, for undercover work:

"*On the Crime Squad, surveillance its the biggest part of your job, especially if you're a woman, because you are good cover. You know, I mean a woman, especially if you're as little as I am, you don't look like a police officer*" Subject 7.

But the isolation is not only related to being away from colleagues and direct

support; it also is experienced as a psychological isolation combined with the feelings of unease at being an invader in someone else's life.

Some of the isolation which policewomen experience is associated with their positions as police officers, rather than with their womanhood. In the courtroom, the police officer is a part of the adversarial legal process, without ever being in a position to control the process:

"*I knew why I wanted to do it, I had all the answers but getting in that box, I felt very much alone*" Subject 18.

The police force too, often has unrealistic expectations of its officers; however it is difficult for the officer to communicate her unhappiness at some of what she is expected to do:

"*In the police we develop instant experts on many subjects. If you take an interest in something or you go on a course, you're an expert on it. It is terrible.*" Subject 12.

There is also the problem of isolation in dealing with investigation of a case. Several of the promoted women commented on the way that, after having helped others with their work, they found themselves alone:

"*I've got a very good boss, but he does delegate and he says "Right, here's an armed robbery, it's down to you" and I find out that my little team of two, one's in court and one's off doing something else and yes, I am physically alone trying to solve it or trying to do what I've got to do*" Subject 18.

Loneliness as a consequence of being a police officer is not only encountered during work activities, although the "them and us" attitude of the public to the police made policewomen uneasy:

"*Policewomen get assaulted now just as many times as policemen and its from people who know just who they are, there's no mistake*" Subject 22.

For some women this attitude came as a shock, since it contradicted their ideas about the role of a policewoman in serving the public:

"*I like to think I've got charm and have a joke with the boys and they soon forget and they don't want to hit a poor little policewoman then, because she's so nice to them*" Subject 14.

One of the consequences of being a police officer for some of the women was that they felt socially isolated; they either only desired to communicate with other officers, who would understand them, or they believed that the "stigma" attached to being a police officer meant only other police officers would be friendly:

"*You can't unwind with people who don't know what you're talking about, you don't have to spell it all out to colleagues so its easier*" Subject 18.

" *'You felt close to colleagues' - I think its a case of having to be close to them really because noone else wants to be close to you*" Subject 12.

Another area in which policewomen expressed a loneliness which was in their relationships with senior officers. Although these situations would apply to men also, the very visibility of policewomen made them more vulnerable to inconsiderate or dismissive behaviour. One woman commented on how she was never permitted to show initiative in reaching decisions; the 'rules' had to be followed even when they were obviously inappropriate. Since the authority of a senior officer could not be challenged, that authority was open to abuse, leading to feelings of isolation:

"*He said, 'You haven't passed your exams yet have you?' in the middle of the conversation. I said 'I don't want to be promoted' 'Well I'm telling you that if you don't pass your exams by next April, then you are going back into uniform'. Then he rang me and told me the same thing the next day and that was just because I told him something he didn't like and upset him.*" Subject 16

Similarly another woman, fired with enthusiasm for the potential use of computers in managing work and improving detection rates, had made a suggestion for change to her seniors. She felt it had not been considered at all:

"*I said it would be ideal to have something up here - and the senior officers said 'No'.* " Subject 17.

The lack of understanding of junior ranks on the part of senior officers was incomprehensible to the women, since all the senior men had, at one time in their careers, been constables themselves:

"*Everybody who decides what I should do, at one stage or another did what I am doing now, but they must have very short memories that's all that I can say because they seem to forget the problems and the difficulty it is when you are at the bottom of the ladder*" Subject 15.

By far the majority of responses categorised as belonging to the domain of contradiction of Loneliness - Acceptance related to the women's experiences as women in the police force, rather than as police officers. These related to the policewomen's loneliness in performing their work and to their sense of social isolation.

Although relationships with senior officers could be problematic for all lower ranks within an organization with such clearly defined hierarchies, the women felt that, as women, they were particularly isolated. During the early years it was felt women were particularly vulnerable to the attitudes of senior officers. One woman recalled being told by her sergeant to sweep the floor:

"*I said 'I'm not doing it, that is a job for cleaners, not for police officers' and the sergeant said 'I've given you an order, now get and sweep that floor' and there were all the boys just standing there looking and I feel humiliated but they know it, they know what he's like, so I said 'No, I'm not doing it.*' Subject 3.

When women did move into ranks in which they had authority, they appeared to be placed in positions where they had little influence over police operations. One sergeant noted that at one time her force had had three female Inspectors:

"*All three women inspectors we have were promoted into jobs where they did*

a 9 to 5, they weren't needed operationally. They felt perhaps that the women weren't up to it. Of course that's not the case." Subject 6.

Although more women were being encouraged to apply for promotion or to undertake specialist duties, their success, or lack of it, was still felt to be dependent on the attitudes of specific officers rather than on the abilities of the women:

"*I think they are encouraging more women now. It depends on .. some bosses like women to go up, others don't. It depends on who your boss is.*" Subject 23.

The attitudes of particular officers led to women being excluded from specific activities. One woman sergeant who had a series of disagreement with her Inspector over the deployment of policewomen, was convinced that one deployment decision was a direct attempt to exclude her:

"*The one inspector in particular, we've had words and I think it stems possibly form me because if he had a woman on the van he hasn't any excuse for not having me on the van, so it could be from that really. I don't know - it's getting personal now isn't it?*" Subject 11.

For all the women, the need to demonstrate to male colleagues that they were capable police officers dominated their behaviour:

"*I had to struggle to try to prove I was capable of doing the job, it's still like that to some extent*" Subject 16.

Even when they achieved recognition they felt that any attention they were given was attributable to their minority status, as for example was the experience of Subject 18, who at the successful conclusion of a case had been visited at work by her Chief Constable. She commented that "*Maybe he wouldn't have come to see a man*".

The women seemed to be in a permanent condition of contradiction. They were deemed to be unsuitable for the job because of their gender and if they did achieve good results then there was always a rumour that praise was

being given to them because they were women, and not because they were good police officers. In addition, they found that their experiences of work were often different to those of male colleagues. The team spirit, the need to work with colleagues is seen as an essential ingredient of policework, but seemed to be less a part of the women's lives:

"*Certainly it's important that you must be part of that team as a woman, but I don't think you are ever part of them, really accepted as one of them*" Subject 6.

Even when appointed to a higher rank, it was difficult to engage with any feeling of being part of a team. The Superintendent in the sample described how she was excluded from the informal discussion sessions and social networks of the other Superintendents in her force. As a consequence she became very anxious about the quality of her work:

"*Here I was as the only woman now, the only woman who's just been promoted, the only woman Superintendent in the force and I was being asked to do something which I felt perhaps I was out of my depth but certainly wasn't going to admit it.*" Subject 8.

The feelings of isolation she felt can be guaged by the linguistic device she adopted in making this point; she repeated three times the phrase "*the only woman*" to emphasise the three different ways in which she was alone, as the only woman in the group of senior officers, as the only woman who had just got promotion and as the only woman superintendent (the bottom rank of senior officers).

In lower ranks the same feelings of uncertainty and marginalisation were reported. Being a woman meant avoiding mistakes since they would be attributed not to individual error but to being female. At the same time it was important not to be too forward:

"*For a long time I was the only female on the shift and I was still trying to keep a low profile, trying to negotiate what my position was and what was expected of me, whether I was going to be seen as too pushy*".Subject 10.

The women recognised that not only were they capable of doing as good a job as the men, in some circumstances they were better equipped to deal with situations:

"*We do come in handy whatever the real pigs of policemen, and there are a few, whatever they like to think, we do have our uses*" Subject 14.

For many of the women the "uses" which male colleagues believed them to have related to their gender roles of mother and carer. It was assumed that women would know "naturally" how to deal with cases of sexual abuse:

"*I asked if I could have a course when I came back to divisional work and I was told 'Well, you don't need one of those, you've been a policewoman for years, all you need is common sense.'*" Subject 15.

This she found unacceptable, particularly since her experience had taught her that:

"*It automatically followed that anything the boys termed as griefy landed in my lap which included rapes, indecency, children, that sort of sexual allegation or anything that's over-emotional would be mine, even though technically that's not supposed to happen*".

Regardless of the actual marital and family status of individual officers, the experience of these women was that it was assumed that women would always deal better with children than would policemen. For some of the women who disliked children or who had had no experience of children this presented real difficulties:

"*They assume that because you are a woman that you are going to be able to deal with children, I mean personally I'm not a person who particularly enjoys the company of children.*" Subject 8.

For other women the attitude was viewed in resigned semi-amusement:
"*Especially with children, the majority of policewomen haven't got children and you don't just turn on this miraculous maternal instinct. I say often the men have more experience than I have with children; I've only got one,*

some of them have three or four" Subject 11.

The effect on officers during their probationary period of such attitudes to policewomen's abilities could be profound. Several of the women commented on the feelings of being completely unsuitable which they had experienced as a consequence of the attitudes of colleagues and of trainers. As one woman commented, it was difficult for an officer being in the vulnerable position of both probationer and female, to challenge the accepted wisdoms:

"*When they're probationers, they're learning all the rules and the ideology of the force, and they can't speak out, they can't contradict*" Subject 11.

If there were to be a time when they were going to feel they could not continue, this probationary period was that time, the women reported. It was a time when they were isolated and also when their knowledge of police practices and values were received rather than experienced in action:

"*I really hated my whole training, I hated every minute. I put on weight because I was worried and I was eating, worrying, feeling self-conscious. I didn't particularly get on with any of the girls*". Subject 14

The most significant individual for the women as they went through probation was the sergeant. Many of the respondents noted the reluctance their sergeant had shown to allow them to do patrol duties. One woman was kept in the station for the first three months of her probation, until the Inspector asked one day the reason for her having made no arrests. On hearing why, he had suggested it might be useful for her to do some patrol work:

"*Then I was let out for a day and I booked six people on that one day*" Subject 5.

A sergeant recalled her own probationer period as having been miserable because of the attitude of her sergeant; her confidence in her abilities had been completely drained:
"*I'm a good policewoman but I wasn't at one time and its no thanks to him that I got any experience because you know if he'd continued to be my senior*

officer I would never have had any." Subject 16.

However the effect on the women of the attitudes of other officers towards policewomen goes beyond the probationer period. An experienced sergeant recalled the response to her when she took up her first posting after promotion. From the Inspector down, she was treated with disdain. Her promotion had come just after the appointment of the force's first and only female superintendent and the rumours among the male officers were that women were being given privileged treatment in appointments and promotions:

"When I was first promoted I went to a station where they had two women constables. Suddenly they had a woman superintendent and a woman sergeant. They'd never had a female supervisory rank before, a predominantly male station, no question, and the girls they had sort of made the tea and answered the phone and suddenly they had me and this was not appreciated."
"I was being treated with great caution and even the inspector I had, it was a great problem, the things he called me, oh the way he acted, it was really bad news." Subject 16

Another sergeant commented on the lack of enthusiasm for female officers:
"I had to struggle to try to prove I was capable of doing the job, its still like that to some extent " Subject 22.

Women carrying out the normal activities of a police officer (for example making arrests and booking people, making decisions on cautioning and charging) reported having been accused of being irrational and odd and of "acting like a man". Some saw their own insistence on equality as providing a role model for other women in the police force:

"It does help females as a whole to know that they are not just there to sit down, look pretty, make the tea..." Subject 22.

However, others felt exhausted by the battle which had characterised their careers in the police force:

"*I've got to the stage now that if I'm bypassed because I'm female, it's water off a duck's back now because I can't be bothered to fight any longer, I've fought for long enough and I feel it's up to the younger ones now to take up the candle.*" Subject 11.

Other players in the legal system appeared as dismissive of the possibility of efficient policewomen as were some policemen, and some of the women felt the bond of sisterhood might be a strong one to which to turn in times of stress. A detective constable described an episode when a trial had been stopped and the jury sent out, in order for the judge, prosecution and defence to discuss whether or not her evidence was acceptable, whether she had been telling the truth about the details of the arrest, interview and charging. She remembered that the contributions from the defence focused largely on the fact she was female and hence probably incompetent. It was agreed that her evidence should be given to the court and:

"T*hen when the jury came in there were about eight or nine females on the jury and I thought "Well there's no way you men are going to speak to me like that again. Because you'll lose credibility with women on the jury surely.*" Subject 15.

She was correct in her prediction; the defence were totally courteous in addressing her.

It is hardly surprising that acceptance by other officers was seen to be important by these women at the same time as it was seen as being close to unachievable. In order to be accepted by male colleagues these women expressed themselves as having been willing to take risks or to do things which they found distasteful. A constable newly out of probation recalled being involved in a fight after several months in the force:

"*When it happened I felt I was looked on in a different way and although I didn't want to feel like it, I felt quite pleased. I mean I hate physical violence and I had this real war within myself about feeling proud that I had managed to do what was expected of me, when really I should have been feeling "Oh God, that was awful*" Subject 20.

Another young constable, recently transferred to a station to work in CID where it had been made clear to her that she was unwelcome, also felt the need to prove herself. For her this had been a big opportunity to develop her career and she was aware that to succeed she would have to be accepted by colleagues:

"*I wanted to prove myself because I felt I wasn't wanted there, I wanted to show that I could do the job standing on my head as good as anybody else, despite the fact I only had three years in the job*" Subject 3.

As a policewoman it was certainly not possible to get away with not being noticed by colleagues:

"*From a police point of view I have difficulty hiding in a corner because there are so few policewomen*" Subject 8.

However, even when ideas were accepted by male colleagues the policewoman could be thought of as odd, as not really understanding police practices. This lead to difficult situations. A detective constable had discussed ideas for change in procedures with colleagues on her shift and had their full support - she thought. At the meeting with their Inspector to discuss problems:

"*We've sat and discussed something and thought 'This is wrong, this isn't working, we ought to do it a different way' and we get an opportunity, maybe a conference, and the boss will say 'How do you think we should solve it?' and I think 'Here's my chance, shit or bust, I'm going for it' and you speak out and you look behind you and there's noone there.*" Subject 15.

The loneliness - acceptance conflict did not restrict itself to work related matters. Social relationships are important in any work group (Herzberg 1966); comments about dress, availability of rest facilities for women and acceptance into the social network of other officers all contribute to the sense in which a woman feels herself an integral part of the service. The complaints about the uniform, particularly its unsuitability for active work and the lack of flexibility in very hot or cold weather, were widespread and reflected at a high level a lack of understanding of the role of the policewoman in a modern force, but the real pain expressed related to individual comments on their appearance. It was felt that the women were

commented on in situations when men were not and the smartness of their uniforms or whether or not they had put on weight were subject to inappropriate scrutiny:

"*I just feel like saying "have you any idea what I've had to deal with today and you're worrying about the fact that my hair is down on my collar*" Subject 10.

Just as the uniform epitomised to the women the lack of concern on the part of managers for their well-being, so did the lack of basic facilities such as washrooms and rest-rooms at police stations. The lack of facilities available to men increases the sense of marginalisation experienced. This, combined with the general attitude of policemen towards policewomen, could lead to alienation:

"*I don't feel we've got enough facilities, I'll be quite honest and I can understand girls not joining or staying in. It's not so much the facilities at the station it's literally the attitude of senior officers*" Subject 11.

The lack of understanding of the needs of women officers heightened a sense of isolation. The response to attempts by a (then) constable to arrange compassionate leave to care for her young baby and dying husband have been referred to earlier in this chapter. The women often commented on the insensitive responses of colleagues to policewomen displaying emotion after a harrowing case; the support needed from colleagues simply was not there:

"T*hey aren't prepared to show it, being upset and I think this is the big difference between men and women*" Subject 4.

This woman recalled the joking which took place in her office after murders or suicide investigations and continued:

"*To be honest I think they get worse, men, as they get older...I think women become far more aware as they get older and far more serious, but men revert*".

As a result of the lack of support and the denigration of their role policewomen become increasingly emotionally isolated. They continue to be efficient police officers but face rejection or behaviour which emphasises their loneliness. A constable with fourteen years service was touched by the consideration of colleagues:

"*I had a birthday party you know, I came in for supper one night and there was a birthday cake and spaghetti bolognese and a bottle of wine which I didn't know anything about and valentines day there was a rose and a card. They are friendly sort of boys*" Subject 9

However, this to her underlined her customary social isolation from her colleagues. Other women commented on their lack of real friends among other police officers:

"*I've very few friends in the police force*" Subject 13.

Even when reasonable relationships existed the feelings of trust were often only one-way: women felt that their position was too vulnerable, and police officers generally over-fond of gossip, for them to trust policemen with their secrets:

"*A lot of the boys tend to confide in me and where I chose not to confide my problems, lots of the boys confide theirs, and I suppose being working colleagues they become friends. maybe it's because I've been in the job longer, because lots of the girls join the job and within two years they've gone, there's allegations of husband hunters etc.*" Subject 15.

At the same time as women observe the culture of prejudice against women officers, they are also immersed in that culture. This can damage a woman's sense of her own worth as a police officer, even without her being aware of it:

"*I would trust a female more in the job but I would prefer to work with a man*" Subject 14.

At times the women acknowledged the improbability of their being accepted completely by male colleagues, and the possible risks associated with trying to do so:

"*As a woman I don't think you can afford to break down too many barriers, you could become quite vulnerable if you did that*" Subject 6.

Acceptance by the men into the social circle did occur, but was accompanied either by a wariness or by a requirement for the policewoman to conform to the male norms of behaviour:

"*You know you could go out with the boys on occasions but sometimes to be accepted you have to be one of the boys. If you can swear - I didn't swear before I joined the police force but I do now.*" Subject 12.

The experience of being one of the boys could be an enjoyable experience. A sergeant, now a mother, recalled an early experience with pleasure:

"*I think I was the first woman in C division to do an Aide to CID and I think that was the booziest three months I ever spent*" Subject 11.

Social occasions were used to by the men to indicate to the women the extent to which they were not part of the culture. They were used also as opportunities to explore any criticisms they had of a colleague. After several months of ostracism an ambitious and competent constable recognised that if she were to survive in her posting she would need to modify her views, or at least the expression of them:

"*I've been on a few outings lately with the boys and they all say to me that when I came over here I had a bit of a chip on my shoulder*" Subject 3.

Even when acceptance as a friend was offered to the women, it was rarely on the same basis as the male-male friendships. As has already been noted married men were particularly wary of having a friendship with a female colleague which went beyond the boundaries of the exchange of pleasantries in the work place. However the role of sister-friend was recognised by the women as being one way in which male colleagues related to them. They were asked for advice about presents for wives and children, what to do for an anniversary celebration:

"*You get the obvious, "You've met my wife, what do you think she'd like for*

Christmas?" "Will my wife like such and such?" or even to the extent of er, "Here's some wrapping paper and ribbon - you wrap it, I'll never do it" and they won't either" Subject 15

Responses to Contradictions

Within this domain loneliness and acceptance were identified as being problematic in four main areas. There was the issue of physical loneliness, whether as a consequence of isolated patrol duties or of undercover work. There was loneliness experienced as a consequence of being a police officer, including feelings of public antagonism, loneliness when representing the police in hostile environments such as courtrooms and the loneliness of being a subordinate in a rigidly hierarchical organisation. These two areas were ones in which women and men experienced similar pattern of isolation although mediated for women by their "visibility".

The other two areas of loneliness were ones in which the officer as a woman was particularly vulnerable. In working practices women had problem relationships with senior officers, were excluded from being part of a team, were subjected to attitudes ranging from suspicion to hostility, and where acceptance was offered it was done so tentatively. Outside the formal duties of work, women were again isolated. There was a lack of understanding of their responsibilities in more than one role, say as mother as well as police officer, they were more likely than men to be criticised for their physical appearance and were socially isolated from male colleagues.

In the narratives examined within this domain of conflict only two instances of the use of the strategy of passing were identified. One was the strategy of being "like the boys", entering the social world of policemen through adopting their patterns of behaviour, drinking and swearing. This has been documented previously as a strategy (Martin 1979). However it has weaknesses; the policewomen interviewed all identified the risks associated with such behaviour, particularly being assigned a reputation, whether deserved or not, for sexual looseness. The other instance of passing was in the case of the woman who expresses more trust in females but a preference for males; she had internalised a particular way of valuing police-related behaviours which came not from her own experience but from the

assertions of others. It might be of interest to note that this was one of the youngest (in age and experience) of the interviewees.

This particular site of contradiction is the one in which coping is the least likely realistic strategy. The effect on feelings of self-worth consequent on a daily acceptance of the one's own marginalisation and devaluation would be damaging. Some women did opt for this way of dealing with contradiction; these women made sense of their own experience through valuing experiences which indicated acceptance, as for example the single middle-aged officer who recognised that she was not one of the team either when working or in a social sense, but who significantly valued the personal warmth behind the gift of flowers and a meal on birthdays and on Valentines Day.

By far the most prevalent strategy adopted was negativism or confrontation. As I have already said, this was a domain where conflict was inescapable, located as it was in the male-culture of policework. Given the option to make tea, be a sister, stay inside the police station, and do largely administrative work, these women rejected it. The comments referred to confrontation - internal, as the policewomen sought to examine the justification for their assertions as to the competence of women, and external, as the statements above illustrate. Part of the process of achieving identity as a policewoman is one of confronting and defeating attitudes and behaviours which constrain her effectiveness as a police officer. To an extent these women's experiences valourised them; they certainly appeared to recognise that confrontations had to take place not just on the big, more obvious, issues, such as whether or not women could be admitted in practice to specialist jobs like those in Traffic Divisions, but on the smaller issues such as harassment over physical appearance. The hierarchical structure of the police force does not make speaking out easy; nevertheless these women articulated an assertion of their right to be police officers and the public right to have them as officers, and this articulation took place not just in the privacy of the women's lavatories or the research interview, but in the workplace and with colleagues of all ranks.

It is clear from the analysis of statements made during the interviews and recorded above that the women recognise both their loneliness within the

police service - loneliness which can be physical and psychological - and the fact that mere presence of more women in itself would not improve the quality of their work experiences:

"*I mean, policewomen, we are just desperate for them, I mean there are so few and I tended to think, I was a bit naive, I thought perhaps when I came then perhaps I'd give women a better chance but it had no effect whatsoever*" subject 8.

The entrenched attitudes of policemen and the ideology of the force was directly challenged by the women, even though some felt there was a long way to go in convincing male colleagues that it might be in their own interests to adapt their attitudes towards women, or to adopt some "female" practices:

"*Prior to equality in this force we used to work the same hours as the men but we did have an hour break. I can never understand why we come down to three-quarters instead of putting themselves up to an hour. Can you understand that? Anything to be bloody-minded - make sure the women come down to us - they could have ended up with an hour's meal break couldn't they?*". Subject 11

5. *Fulfilment - Lack of Fulfilment*

It is generally accepted that fulfilled individuals perform better in their jobs, are healthier and more contented, while at the same time it is also acknowledged that precise definitions of "fulfilment" in workers are rather thin on the ground (Steiner and Truxillo, 1989). However within this particular domain of conflict for policewomen particular areas emerge as being concerned with satisfaction and lack of satisfaction in working life.

Frustration with management and with the level of paperwork required of police officers has been reported elsewhere as being characteristic of police officers (Jones, 1986; Fielding, 1988). Responses in this data set suggest a dissatisfaction with the amount of work, particularly paperwork, required

and with the direction of leadership or its absence in critical situations. A detective constable recalled a case of a type which neither she nor her colleagues had experienced. On asking senior officers for advice she was told to use her judgement:

"*I never managed to speak to anyone who said A) You've got to do that B) You've got to do this and if you can't do B then get onto D , and generally give me a set pattern of what to do*" Subject 21.

One woman commented that the only direction she had ever received from Headquarters was to do with presenting a report rather than conducting the investigation to be reported:

"*The powers that be down in HQ you know, they just sit and they check all the incidents and they think 'Oh, she's put three s's in that word and there are only two, I think we'll tell her off about that'. It's pathetic, absolutely pathetic.*" Subject 13.

Not only did there appear to be little direction given but women were left to flounder as "experts" in areas of which they had no knowledge. One woman was in charge of a large budget, having been given no financial training; another commented on the general assumption that she could be expected to do any job without training for it.

It was also felt that the pressure of work inevitably left certain jobs undone or not well done. One woman declared she could no longer cope with the volume of routine paperwork and others commented:

"*When you arrest someone it's not one form you fill in, it's four hundred.*" Subject 13.

"*You haven't got time to do the things you would like to do, and you can't just leave them and its difficult to draw the line.*" Subject 6.

"*Paperwork really gets me down. Constantly shuffling one bit of paper from one department to another you know. God it's ridiculous. It seems to me to create more problems than it actually solves.*" Subject 22.

However there were benefits to be gained in that paperwork, unlike many aspects of police work, had a beginning and an end; subject 24 noted "I *like to see a clear desk, it's a lovely feeling you don't get very often*".

The real frustration of administrative work was that it prevented the women from involving themselves in more rewarding activity. The rewards intrinsic to good police work were felt by the women to be enormous. At times the rewards related to the development of self confidence because of the effectiveness of the policewoman's work style:

"*I've been proud of the many times I've got confessions, admissions or whatever, that other people hadn't done, just by being patient or by being polite.*" Subject 12.

Another officer made a point of establishing personal contacts with other agencies and felt this not only gave her a strategy for success but also allowed her more control over her work:

"*I've developed my own contacts, built up a working relationship with social services.*" Subject 15.

Seeing one's own ideas work effectively gave confidence, especially to women who preferred negotiation to physical confrontation and had expressed that preference to fellow officers:

"*You've got to learn to speak before , you've got to try to talk your way out of it.*" subject 24.

However the level of discretion available to police officers to enact their own ideas varies from force to force. One officer described coming across a car parked in a garage forecourt late one night; its occupants, Irish rugby fans returning from an international match, were very drunk and sleeping off the effects of the alcohol. Believing that none of them had been intending to drive, she took the keys from the ignition and told the owner to pick them up from the station in the morning. However she forgot to consider the possible actions of a grateful public:

"*He wrote this lovely letter to the Chief Constable saying what a darling I was not breathalising him and of course I was dragged over the coals for neglecting my duty. When you expect them to shut up they don't and when you expect them to say something...*" Subject 12.

Control over work strategies appeared to contribute to feelings of fulfilment. Some of the women identified particular jobs where they would have more autonomy:

"*You don't get any pressure up here in CID ,especially with the females, you do talk a lot with children, a lot of females problems ... you can take as much time as you want to talk to people.*" Subject 2.

It was recognised that their preferences were not always a major part of personnel deployment criteria:

"*It all depends on what situations are going on at the time - if there was nothing in the air when your term had finished you'd go straight back downstairs.*" Subject 2.

Very often individuals were not informed of their next posting until very late:

"*It came to the point where I had to return to force from being an instructor. fair enough I knew that was coming along but where was I going to go and I kept hanging on and hanging on waiting to know where I was going to. It did make me ill in the end*" Subject 11.

Another difficulty encountered was that forward planning was impossible. Fryer (1986) has identified being able to make plans as being an essential element of psychological well-being and Seligman (1992) has noted the outcome of continually frustrated plans as being the syndrome he calls "learned helplessness', associated with self-attributions of powerlessness. Frustration of plans appeared as a theme in several narratives:

"*I couldn't come in tomorrow and say "Right I'm going to do this today", you*

know, I mean there's no such thing as forward planning." Subject 9.

Similarly the shiftwork pattern meant that although as a general principle regular weekends off were scheduled, in practice it was difficult to plan for an evening or daytime event more than a couple of weeks ahead. This more varied work pattern appealed to many of the women, in spite of its effects on forward planning:

"*I don't particularly like nights but its nice, you have the day free then so it comes in handy.*" Subject 23.

The real opportunity for gaining fulfilment was through the assertion of personal goals and needs. The subjects demonstrated that they could both identify personal goals and work to achieve these:

"*I think you've got to give yourself a project if you like and certain ideals to achieve.*" Subject 19.

Although autonomy was limited because of the decision making structures within the police force, there were ways of gaining some control:

"*I've got people working with me who are much more experienced years-wise but who haven't had such a wide base as I've had, which gives you a feeling of confidence that you do know what you talk about ..... If I'd just stayed in N, working the beat and gone straight to CID without doing these other things, I wouldn't be as aware of them as I am.*" Subject 18.

When given the opportunity to specialise, the women selected areas which were compatible with their ideas and ideals relating to policework, where possible:

"*I thought 'Well, I've got to specialise in something' because it is the done thing to specialise in something. So I thought, 'Well I'll pick something which is nearest to the beat I can get', which is training so that's why I picked training.*" Subject 4.

When the route to fulfilment was blocked, the block could be challenged. A

constable, qualified to sergeant, was aware that she needed experience to obtain a permanent promotion post. An acting-up post became vacant in her station and was given to an older, but unqualified, male constable:

"*I went to the acting Inspector and I basically, well, I complained. He said 'Ah, he's going to sit his exams, you should give him credit for that' and I said 'Balls, I'm qualified', so anyway I won my case and I became custody officer.*" Subject 6.

The ability to select what the officer would do on a day to day basis was believed to enhance her satisfaction. Earlier in this chapter it was noted that a majority of the women felt that working with children and female victims would give them intense satisfaction However, in spite of the fact that women were in any case more likely to be given any such work , it was clear that the blanket allocation of such work to all woman would be a source of satisfaction to some and discontent to others:

"*That would be the line of work I would like, dealing with sexual offences but the whole force not just locally, any sexual offence, child abuse, rape or something like that, to be a unit working together which would respond to each one.*" Subject 5.

"*I would hate to know that each and every single day I would be interviewing children about battering or indecency or that sort of thing. I mean you've got to have a break or you really would go round the bend.*" Subject 4.

Of the two speakers, the second officer had at the time considerable experience of dealing with sexual offences and child abuse cases; the first speaker had very little. Nevertheless the desire to see police work enacted in a particular context of public service drove both women. And in terms of identifying the need for their personal input into improving the quality of the work, most of the women expressed the views summarised by subject 21:

"*If I fail something, I've got to try harder*".

Not being able to follow a case through, either because this conflicted with

other police duties or because it was not seen as part of her duties, prevented some of the respondents from feeling the job fulfilled them:

"*I don't see the follow up of how victim support helps someone through. I never know the results.*" Subject 20.

For others, particular jobs fully engaged them, even to the exclusion of caring for their own welfare:

"*If you miss a meal break, you miss a meal break, you just work on until you've done something.*" Subject 2.

"*While I'd been in bed the CID had taken over interviewing them and I was just lying there thinking 'I wish I could be there hearing exactly what happened and what they're saying'.*" Subject 10.

Some jobs were seen to be an irrelevance:

"*Well, alright, they had a laugh but why should I go to a post-mortem, what benefit do I get from seeing them prodding around and why should I go there?*" Subject 16.

When the job was frustrating, or was not what they had envisaged doing as police officers, there was some scope for trying to change it. One officer, frustrated by a routine job in a port area, applied for a transfer, and when told that she would have to return to uniform, felt that this fitted in far better with her ideas of policing than did the work she had been doing. Another, assigned to operating the computer, commented "*I thought the job was out there on the street, dealing with the public, speaking to people, that's what I joined for.*" (Subject 3). She managed to obtain a transfer.

The final area of conflict for the women was that work which they felt had been well done went largely unrecognised. This was not always the case; Subject 3 had put in a report of excellent police investigation following a minor incident of theft:

"*I thought it was a particularly good result because it was two years service and getting involved in something like that - but when the file was sent back to me it had on there 'This girl ought to be in CID'.*"

It was particularly satisfying when a member of the public thanked the officers. Two of the women recalled receiving letters at the end of gruelling cases:

"*That's the day you want to give up on it all and then you get the letter and you think 'OK well maybe I'm not wasting my time'.*" Subject 18.

"I enjoy my work, I get satisfaction out of knowing I've helped someone and especially when that someone has written in a letter saying 'Thank you to the police officer'." Subject 21.

For others the experience had been less positive. A woman given a commendation for "rescuing" an old woman from a house fire (the woman had been standing in the garden and as the policewoman concerned said "*It was hardly a rescue*") commented:

"*When I've worked really hard and felt "Well, I deserve a commendation" - nothing.*" Subject 12.

One interviewee felt that it was who one was, not what one did which earned commendations and praise:

"*If they don't like you and you do something wrong they'll be quick enough to pick up on it, but if you do something good you're hardly ever praised*" Subject 22.

There was still satisfaction in aspects of the job which were felt regardless of any outside evaluation. This sergeant talking about her work with abused children noted that although she found it very stressful, it held its own rewards as a job worth doing:
"*Yes, it is emotionally upsetting but not to that extent because at the end of the day its thrilling to think you've possibly saved the children's lives.*" Subject 4.

Responses to Contradictions

The contradictions experienced within this site of conflict were identified as relating to lack of fulfilment consequent on workload or on management style; a lack of fulfilment or fulfilment associated with success and achievements particularly in defining and asserting personal needs and goals; a lack of fulfilment or fulfilment associated with the nature of the job, with engagement and with force-imposed limits to personal engagement with a case.

In a domain of contradictions in which the focus is on fulfilment in the workplace one would expect the dominant strategy to be one of confrontation or of exiting. Since satisfaction is considered to be of such importance to the individual worker, its maintenance would be expected to be central to the individual's plans.

The strategy of denial is a possible one in this domain. One can convince oneself of the satisfaction of personal goals and aspirations through re-evaluation of those goals; in such circumstances the individual is effectively denying the possibility of any conflict. Thus it would be possible for an individual to re-evaluate what constitutes a satisfier, by, for example convincing herself that the salary and job security provided the fulfilment she needed by giving her access to a high-cost leisure market she could not otherwise enter. An example of denial is the young police officer whose response to finding night shifts uncongenial was to re-evaluate them in the light of the extra daytime free time she would have.

However there is no evidence that denial is used more than very infrequently as a strategy. The women were all both vocal and specific about their aspirations, those aspects of the police service which deny those aspirations and the strategies adopted to fulfil their needs. In particular they identified specific features of the police structures which deny them opportunities to work in a more fulfilling way; these were the lack of agency and autonomy over individual's work, the lack of control over promotions and postings and the arbitrary way in which these are determined, the lack

of opportunity for recognition for good performance and the conflict between police values and expectations with respect to the job and those held by the policewomen. Interestingly, these "fulfillers' closely match the 'motivators' identified by Herzberg (1966).

It is difficult to pass in such circumstances of conflict. Fulfilment is a private emotion; if there are contradictions within this domain they can be rationalised, that is coped with, but not hidden in the sense of passing. Coping strategies were evident; women identified plans for personal development or ideas about changes in force practices, as for example the setting up of a force-based specialist unit to deal with child abuse or sexual offence, which would enable them at some time in the future to achieve their aspirations. Frustrations at lack of force recognition of good work were coped with by focusing on the intrinsic satisfaction of the job itself or on the expressed gratitude of members of the public.

However, when faced with conflict within this domain the main preference was for the strategy of confrontation. Even in the area of management styles and workloads, an area not easily amenable to confrontation with senior officers, individual policewomen asserted their frustrations by challenging instructions they felt were petty or inappropriate. They directed their careers along paths which would allow them agency over the directions they took; when forced to specialise, a woman whose preference was for beat work specialised in an area she knew would keep her in contact with such work, namely training. A woman who wanted her career development through promotion, asserted her frustration when she saw a less able man promoted over her head and challenged that decision. The confidence gained from seeing the successes of a preferred work style, and the failures of the dominant style, allowed women to challenge some practices and assert the value of their own. Within this domain women attempted to challenge and to exercise control as a strategy for dealing with contradictions experienced.

In summary, this site of conflict produced strategies characterised mainly by confrontation and by coping. The comments of the interviewees underlined their commitment to policework and to their particular ideals of policework:

"T*o be honest I prefer being in uniform, being out there with the public, walking around, I mean you can deal with so many different things.*" Subject 13.

"*I wouldn't fit into another job. If I do finish in the police force I would never do anything else. I'd do voluntary work but I would never work for somebody else.*" Subject 9.

"*I don't think I'd get that same excitement somewhere else, I don't know, I've never tried, but I don't think I would.*" Subject 17.

Review and conclusions

The use of Critical Incident interviews permitted the exploration of the experiences of police women, their values, aspirations and their sense of self. It was intended that by looking at the everyday work experiences of the women an understanding would be obtained of the processes through which the women achieved a synthesis of the contradictory gender positions they occupied.

The analysis of the critical items themselves generated information about the satisfactions and irritants of policework. From the content of the narratives and the context in which each was located it was possible to identify particular strands of experience which were common to a number of officers and which both defined and were defined by their expectations and their sense of themselves as police officers.

The nature of the experience of being a female police officer

The women who were interviewed for this research expected from policework a job which would be non-routine and which would allow them to develop their skills in a particular context of service. This context was to be one where the enforcement of the law and improving the quality of life for the public operated in parallel. They also wanted a job which, while respecting the need for firm organisational controls over behaviour, would none the less allow them some autonomy over their work. They anticipated

some problems arising from the relative lack of women in the police service and from wider social expectations about women and the nature of women's employment; however they anticipated that their own aspirations and abilities would enable them to overcome any such difficulties. Moreover, they articulated having expected their own presence and effectiveness as police officers to allay any fears about female unsuitability and to pave the way for an easier passage for future women recruits (see, for example, subject 8's response in the section *Fulfilment-Lack of Fulfilment* above).

To what extent did the women report their expectations having been fulfilled? The narratives produced in response to the Critical Incident prompts showed women who were at times totally fulfilled by their work, proud of the outcomes of cases in which they played a pivotal part, pleased by incidents where they had given a real service to individuals or the wider public, and confident that their initiatives and personal values had been vindicated within their work in the police force. They also showed women frustrated by the constraints placed on them not just by the bureaucracy of the police force but also by the attitudes and behaviours of male colleagues towards them as women. They showed women angered by the extent to which the values of public service, loyalty and empathy had been replaced by values of loyalty to fellow police officers and antagonism to the public. And they showed women faced with disruptions to their sense of identity as police-officers and as women, attempting to integrate their conflicting values and experiences through adopting different strategies.

Dealing with challenge and contradiction

An examination of the conflict experienced within each of the five domains of contradiction analysed in the previous section shows that the nature of the coping strategy adopted varied according to the nature of the contradiction. Within the Caring-Enforcement domain the strategy of denial was avoided; at no time did any of the women deny the experience of personal conflict between ideas about policing as a public service and policing as short-term enforcement of the law. Confrontation was used as a strategy, for example in the case of the young policewoman challenging her seniors over the use of untrained policewomen in taking statements from rape victims, but was not the most common way of dealing with

contradiction, largely because the context in which most of these conflicts occurred was one in which the hierarchical formal structures of the police force made direct challenge diiificult. However indirect challenges, such as maximising opportunities to enact a caring role and maintaining beliefs about their values with respect to police-work, were implemented; these coping strategies did enable the policewomen to continue as police officers without jeopardising their sense of self, associated with the values they brought with them to the job.

Conflict experienced in the context of the domain of personal relationships-work relationships were dealt with in two instances by exiting. Through isolating one self (woman) from another self (police woman), the contradictions in positions are eliminated. Denial of any difficulty in maintaining a significant personal life while playing a full part of the police team was also a strategy used by a small number of women. The two strategies which predominated were those of confrontation and coping. The copers made great efforts to maintain good working and social practices, without asking for any special allowance from either family, friends or colleagues; those who chose confrontation had faced senior officers and officers of the same rank to insist on being allowed space for a personal life and on being allowed to be individuals as well as police officers. Both groups of women reported having been changed by the police force; for the copers this change seemed to have involved a greater integration of police values into their set of personal values, and often their social circle actually consisted almost entirely of police officers. For the women choosing confrontation as their main strategy the change seemed to have been one of valourisation, of becoming aware of a range of issues within the police force, not necessarily related to their personal experiences, which they recognised as being treated inappropriately.

A key theme of the women in their responses analysed within the domain of public duty-duty to colleagues was the recognition of the existence within the police force of "corporate values", in particular values give gave precedence to loyalty to colleagues over loyalty to a wider public. Three strategies seemed to be used, those of passing, confrontation and coping. Passing was for some women the only way of coping with contradictory positions; they were pragmatic in their acceptance, publicly, of the cultural

norms of the police force, while privately expressing concern about them. Some women did use confrontation when faced with malpractice and this was not confined to the more experienced officers but was also significant in informing the behaviour of younger policewomen who were reluctant to give up the ideals and values which had stimulated them to join. Few of the women chose the strategy of coping; they recognised the existence of a police culture and associated norms of behaviour but chose to neither confront nor conform to these but to re-evaluate their attitudes to those aspects of the job where conflict was experienced.

Within the Loneliness-Acceptance domain the preferred strategy was undoubtedly confrontation. This category contained the highest number of assigned statements taken from the interview and it was apparent that this represented an important site of contradiction in the women's lives. Although there were experiences of loneliness recalled which were common to all police officers, regardless of gender, the majority of experiences recalled were those where the policewomen was vulnerable as a woman in relation to other police officers both in work practices and in social relationships. Although the strategy of passing (through acting like "one of the boys" or by integrating police values into personal attitudes towards policewomen) was identified it was rare; this was the case too for coping, a strategy enacted through the women extracting value and a sense of acceptance and communality from a few instance of accepting behaviour, as for example was the case with the woman gaining pleasure from the attention given her by colleagues on her birthday. Confrontation was the way through which the majority of women faced a conflict which was inescapable; part of the process of becoming an effective policewoman appeared to be challenging and overturning the attitudes which constrained that effectiveness. The belief of the policewomen was that they were good officers and that the public were entitled to their service, as they were entitled to fulfil their aspirations. The fact that conflict for women was unavoidable within this domain does not detract from the strength of purpose with which these women challenged established attitudes and asserted their case.

The fifth site domain of contradiction was conceived of as being fulfilment-lack of fulfilment and the pattern of strategies for dealing with

contradiction within this domain was that confrontation was the predominant strategy, with one instance of denial and a few women selecting a strategy of coping. Denial entailed the re-evaluation of the negative aspects of the job; coping strategies were oriented to planning for a better future within the constraints of the police force, for example, by making plans to specialise in an area of interest, usually one related to women's issues. The strategy of confrontation required the women to challenge decisions and behaviours believed to adversely affect their working lives, whether these were to do with promotion, access to particular areas of work or ways of dealing with cases. The confidence which the women built up through their experiences of success in confronting malpractices or inequity gave them the strength to challenge practices in other areas of police work and to assert the value of their own conceptualisations of what constituted good policing.

These women did not choose a career in policing in order to fight battles. However they entered the force with a sense of values with respect to public service and with respect to their own treatment as motivated, hardworking individuals with much to offer the police force. Confronted with situations in which their identity as women contradicted their identity as police officers in most cases they chose to confront. It is notable that only confrontation and coping were strategies used in all five domains of contradiction and that confrontation was overwhelmingly the most commonly used strategy. The confrontation forced on them by their positions as women in a male dominated occupation appeared to energise these women across a number of issues related to the female condition; they expressed anger about the treatment of women in such various situations as in cases of sexual abuse, in domestic disputes, and in cot death cases and also recognised the wider economic context in which women committed crimes such as shoplifting, and in which women allowed the abuse of a child by a partner. They entered the force with ideas of service and caring; in part as a consequence of their experiences also, they demonstrated this caring in a range of situations. While the methodology and sampling frame of this study did not intend a comparison between subsets of the sample, it is clear from the statements made by the women and from the nature of the situations described in the Critical Incident interviews that the women with longer service, particularly the women who had achieved promotion were

more likely to recognise contradictions in their experiences and make direct challenges to the sources of those contradictions.

The relationship between psychological type, experiences in work and coping strategies

The sample selected for participation in the Critical Incident interviews were selected randomly from the available subjects within their cell of the sampling fame (see *Selecting the Subjects*). At this stage their MBTI profiles were not considered.

Appendix D contains brief biographical summaries of each officer interviewed including details of their MBTI profiles. Figure 7.5 shows the distribution of preferences among the subjects in this sample. Of particular interest is the distribution of the Perception-Judgement dimension; in the women with longer service and who had achieved promotion this was the preference for six of the eight, while for the other two groups it was the preference of three of the shorter service group and of only one of the group of women who had over six years service but who had not been promoted. There is an uneven distribution of type in the Extravert-Introvert dimension; the majority of both the constable groups show a preference for Extraversion while only three of the promoted group show such a preference. Both patterns of preference reflect the distribution found in the overall sample (see chapter 5).

Preference	Length of Service: less than 6 years	more than six years(constables)	more than six years(sergeant or higher)
E	7	6	3
S	7	7	7
T	4	6	7
P	3	1	6

Fig. 7.5 Distribution of MBTI preferences among subjects interviewed

The distribution of ST types is also similar to that found in the overall sample (chapter 5) with promoted officers having a higher proportion of T preferences (N=7) than the other two groups (group one N=3, group two N=4).

The hallmark of those with an orientation to perception rather than judgement is adaptability; this type will be adaptable on small issues but firm on things that matter. Its predominance in the promoted officers suggests that, as one would expect, to get on in a service employment requires flexibility in day to day affairs. The adherence to principles and the important things, particularly important to IP types, would reflect in the observed commitment particularly amongst the promoted women, to an assertion of their values and rights as well as their responsibilities. The characteristics of the SP type, which predominates in the promoted group are realism and adaptability; they seek new experiences and are curious about the world around them, while at the same time being both observant of the world around them and adaptable to it. The SJ type which predominates in the other two sample groups has a greater preference for order and a lesser liking for change; SJ types dislike ambiguity and hence are less flexible in their responses to situations. The other major site of difference between the three groups is the distribution of the EI type. I's are more oriented to an inner world of ideas; they are likely to have greater depth of concentration than E's who have a broader range of interests and an orientation to the "real" world of people and objects. Introverts are better able to deal with abstract concepts and ideas and are better suited than are E's

to making plans and anticipating future responses. All three groups showed, in general, a preference for Sensing, a reliance on facts and a preference for decision-making based on facts rather than a consideration of possibilities.

All these are, of course, generalisations; not all the subjects in each group have characteristics matching the dominant ones of the group as a whole. However since the results discussed in chapter 5 suggest that there are characteristic types found amongst policewomen and since there appears to be some difference in preferences shown by the officers in the interview sample it is of interest to examine the extent to which these can explain any of the response patterns examined in this chapter.

Type theory is about preferences; it is a theory emphasising the role of individual experiences and responses in developing strengths in all the eight dimensions. Thus it would be inappropriate to look for causal explanations of individual behaviour based on the individual's psychological type. However it can be useful in exploring the contexts in which people make decisions about themselves and their personal values and it is in this light that the relation between type, experiences and responses to contradictions has been considered.

To some extent it is correct to say that type preferences cannot explain the range of responses to contradictions and strategies for overcoming these. Individual women themselves demonstrated different strategies in different contexts and had had different experiences in apparently similar situations. Although the longer serving and the promoted officers were more likely to be confrontational in their responses, this was not always the case and all the officers who were young in terms of length of service had also used strategies of confrontation, coping and denial. The greater appearance of the P type, suggesting a more flexible style, among the promoted officers might be expected to make them less likely to confront problems than the more rigid Judgmental types.

Probably the most useful purpose served by examining this interview data in the context of type theory is to see if the policewoman "personality" identified in chapter 5, in other words the generalised description of

preferences and interactional styles found amongst the large sample has a parallel in a generalised style of responding to contradictions in identity. From the data analysed in this chapter certain common characteristics of the policewomen's contradictions and responses emerge.

It was predicted from the existing research literature on women police officers and on women working in male-gendered occupations that being female would in itself be problematic. It was predicted that women would experience discrimination on an unofficial basis and that not all facilities open to men would be equally available to women. On the basis of existing knowledge concerning police culture it was also predicted that women would be unable easily to access the social world of male police officers. What was not predictable was the extent to which discriminatory practices operated at a formal level, nor was it predicted that this would extend to all women officers across all ranks and lengths of service.

The literature suggested that policewomen with a genuine commitment to policing would see themselves as primarily enforcers of the law (Martin 1979). The data reviewed in this chapter suggests that women bring to their policework values of empathy, caring and public service which have at least equal status with enforcement in their perspectives on the police role. In addition they identified personal needs to be as valid as policing needs in constructing their sense of identity, but without there being any loss of commitment or effectiveness as police officers. In other words the distinction made by Martin and by others between *police*women and police*women* was not identifiable in this sample. They took both their work-selves and their personal selves extremely seriously.

A third communality of the women's experiences lay in the strategies adopted to manage contradictions and conflicts in their identities. All the women adopted, to a greater or lesser extent, strategies of confrontation and of coping, with by far the greatest preference being for confrontation. Within a tightly structured organisation with a strict disciplinary code these women nevertheless felt the most appropriate strategy to adopt in order to maintain a coherence in their position was one of assertion; assertion of their value, of their values, of their rights and of the needs of a wider public for an effective police force operating to serve a public. Finally, it is noted

that the three women inspectors referred to in the Loneliness-Acceptance section above as being confined to 9 to 5 jobs all asserted their desire to be involved in operational policework and all three succeeded in achieving those desires.

Chapter 8

PROCESSES OF IDENTITY IN FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS

The research problem identified at the beginning of this work was that of exploring the ways in which policewomen resolve the conflicts associated with occupying contradictory gender role positions as both women and as police officers, given that police work has an identifiably masculine culture and identity.

Being a policewoman: experiencing the attitudes of others.

Brewer (1991) proposed that policewomen "*experience both their work and the station culture as male territory*". He noted that, in his study of R.U.C. policewomen, the coping strategy adopted by policewomen in response to this was to become what he termed "*Amazons*" and "*Hippolytes*", these being very like Martin's *police*women and police*women* or Jones (1986) "moderns" and "traditionals". Amazon women rejected the "women's" jobs in policing, adopted a very physical interactional style, both in dealing with the public and with fellow officers, and acted as one of "the boys", indulging in sexual horseplay and swearing. The Hyppolyte type "*managed the question of gender identity by retaining for themselves as much of their femininity as the bureaucratic regimen and the situation allows*".

While it is undoubtedly the case that policewomen in this study had experienced discrimination and devaluation simply because they were female, there was no evidence from this study that such a simple dichotomisation of responses was appropriate; neither from the expressed liked and disliked aspects of policing, reported in chapter six, nor from the responses of the interview sample to experienced contradictions, discussed in chapter seven, is it possible to draw any conclusion that there exists such a single bi-polar pattern of responses to gender-identity conflict. Although the women interviewed did use strategies which could be equated to the Amazon/*police*woman response (the strategy of passing) and to the Hyppolyte/police*woman* response (the strategy of isolation), there was no evidence that individual women consistently used either one or the other as a general or only mode of dealing with challenge to an identity. Moreover, the most commonly used response strategy was negativism (confrontation)

and the second most common was coping; neither permits the adoption of a simple stereotyped masculine or feminine response since both entail recognition and confrontation of contradiction, the first entailing a public confrontation and the second a cognitive reappraisal.

The interpretation of data collected in this study does suggest that there is a recognition by the women of differences in public responses to them and expectations of them, compared with male colleagues. There is also recognition of a consistent pattern of response to them by male officers, which may involve denigration of their work, concern about them as being more at risk or a general reluctance to see them as equals in policing competence. Fielding and Fielding (1992) noted that, in new female recruits, the response to attitudes towards them implying some kind of "lack" in women officers was for the women to attempt to change:
"*If change was on the agenda it was personal rather than organisational, to be "one of the lads" rather than to make the lads think about what they were.*"

Fielding and Fielding (op cit.) commented that their study had not looked at policewomen beyond the end of the probationer period. In the study reported here it was noticeable that confrontation in order to, in Fielding and Fielding's words, "*make the lads think about what they were*" was a response used at times by all the women interviewed, regardless of length of service, although it was the longer-serving women, often those of higher rank, who were most likely to challenge male ideas and public attitudes about what constituted appropriate female behaviour within the police service, and, indeed, what constituted good police practices.

Although some of the women interviewed here could cite an instance of a woman officer who acted as a police*woman*, the general response to female colleagues appeared to be positive. The problems the women experienced in managing a gender identity in work seemed to be related to the responses and values of male colleagues and of senior officers to policewomen, rather than any perceived inadequacies in themselves or in female officers generally. Even in the one area of policework where it was recognised by most, though not all, of the women that men had an advantage, that of physical strength, this was not viewed as a problem for policewomen. Other

than in one case, a young woman just completed her probationer period, this did not affect the policewomen's preferences to the extent of making them value male partners more. Rather, they noted that even when physical confrontation was a possibility, in most situations it could be avoided, and hence any advantage offered by physical size and/or strength was illusory. However the damage done to the confidence of a policewoman by a constant insinuation of a woman's inevitable lack of competence was recognised as being a threat to self-value and identity, and hence to competent work performance.

Policewomen's Values for Police Practice

In chapter four it was noted that the terms "uniformed patrol officer" and "community constable" reflected similar activities and status within the police force and, while it is recognised that not all uniformed officers are also community constables, it was suggested that the choice of title by a policewoman to describe her work might reflect her own, or wider force, attitudes towards the relationship between the police and the community.

The responses reported in chapter six, concerning the factors influencing decisions to embark on a career in policing, and the responses to the critical incident items reported in chapter seven suggest strongly that a commitment to service to the community and to a wider public is of considerable importance to policewomen. The challenges and confrontations experienced by policewomen are often located in a conflict between a sense of public duty and accountability counterposed to the requirements of police culture (chapter seven). Moreover, the ambitions of many of the women interviewed, with respect to developments within the police service, were for developments related to improved public service, such as better specialist training and the setting up of specialist units to deal with particular types of cases, such as those involving child abuse or those involving sexual assaults.

The reasons for deciding on a career in the police force were also linked to a desire to improve the quality of life for the local community. While some of the women interviewed expressed regret that such aspirations had not always been achieved, none felt that to hold such aspirations was inappropriate for a police officer. As one woman with twentyfive years

service commented (chapter six), in many ways the standards of public service and quality of work performance had decreased during her career, but this was lamented not in terms of an overly idealistic youthful ambition, but as a consequence of senior officers managing her force being out of touch with the realities and requirements of policing.

There appeared to be agreement that much of the failing of the women's respective police forces was a consequence of unimaginative and confused management policies. Although it was recognised that all officers in senior positions were once beat constables, it was felt that they had little contact with the public nor with serving officers of more junior rank. This lack of understanding manifested itself in policies detrimental to both the public good and to the morale and practices of police officers.

The styles adopted by the women to manage their police roles reflected their experiences and their more generalised preferred ways of dealing with the world. In chapter five it was noted that the dominant preferred styles of interacting with the world, as indicated by the women's psychological Type, reflected the principle of "a desire for objectivity and order" and a preference for dealing with current realities, treating each situation as unique (rather than having a generalised conceptualisation of a problem as representative of a type). This is the case whether the policewoman is motivated primarily by a desire to identify causal relationships or by a desire to reach decisions based on personal values and consideration for others. This preference might explain the frustrations reported by the women with the almost stereotyped ways in which many of their male colleagues viewed the public, or individual cases with which they were involved.

The attitudes of the women to their work and to policing generally reflected their personal values with respect to their individual career goals and aspirations. The opportunities for interest and variety in the work available to them as police officers was cited by all the women in the sample as having been an important influence on their career choice. Although, as was recognised, policework involves much that is predictable and routine, especially those aspects entailing paperwork, it offers a woman seeking variety of experience and opportunity more chances of achieving her desires than would most other jobs open to women of equivalent

qualifications. Responses to the critical incident items (chapter seven) indicated a competence in negotiating some autonomy over their working lives.

It was apparent from the data obtained in this study that there were consistent patterns of opinions and attitudes with respect to police work, which were common to all the respondents. All viewed policing as a profession, with associated responsibilities to both the employing public and to colleagues. All recognised the need for accountability and most, at some point in the study, expressed both frustration and a degree of shame that such accountability was not always recognised by colleagues and incorporated into working practices. The police force was seen to offer an opportunity to the women to express both values for personal opportunity and achievement and value for public service and improvement to a wider quality of life. This appeared to be irrespective of length of service or rank.

Identity, crisis and contradiction

In chapter three the approach of Erikson to identity dynamics was discussed. The potential relevance of his work and that of his followers lies in two strands of theory. The first is his conceptualisation of identity as being a lifelong development, a consequence of a series of evaluations and syntheses of life experiences; the second is his view that identity formation is a consequence of a crisis in long held ideas.

For Erikson, at any point of crisis, in order to forge an identity, the individual has to make commitments about the future - what to become and in what to believe. The outcome of those commitments, a reflection of values, is identity; the outcome of lack of commitment is an identity diffusion, a lack of continuity in the individual's actions and interactions in the real world. When ideas and commitments are still being considered and tested the individual's identity is in a moratorium phase.

For policewomen the crises can occur in several different sites of tension. These were reported in chapter seven. There are tensions between the women's values and ideals concerning police work (for example as a public service) and the actualities of being a police officer. There are tensions

between values for self as a female/female police officer and the actuality of being a female police officer, reflected in conflicts between family needs and work loyalties and in the isolation policewomen reported feeling with respect to their social lives and the male culture of police work.

For Erikson commitment leads to identity achievement. If Erikson's ideas with respect to identity are to have resonance in explaining the identity dynamics of policewomen the existence of identity achievers, identity diffusions and moratoriums in this sample must be considered. The use of the strategy of confrontation is an indicator of commitment to and achievement of identity. It requires recognition of contradiction, a commitment to values for the self and for a wider future and the taking of action to achieve those values. It has already been noted that this strategy was used at times by all the subjects interviewed but was particularly a characteristic of the more experienced and more senior policewomen.

The existence of identity diffusers is more difficult to determine in this sample. If identity achievers have rejected a splitting of identity such as that implied in the *police*woman and police*woman* dichotomy, in favour of a synthesis, then diffusers in avoiding crisis and hence avoiding commitments are also unlikely to see themselves and their experiences as relating to *police*woman or police*woman*. Rather they are likely to deny occupying a contradictory identity position. This was not a characteristic percept of this sample. Only in one case did a woman, at any point in the interviews, attempt to deny the existence of any problem relating to this. This was subject 9. However in her interview this denial was not the main element of her story and she too could be identified as adopting strategies of confrontation and is not best described as having a diffuse identity. The moratorium identities are most common in the less experienced officers. This is not surprising in view of Erikson's conceptualisation of identity as being the consequence of maturation through life experiences. Moratoriums, still experimenting and not yet committed to a single identity project, are likely to manifest themselves as both *police*women and police*women*, oriented both to being a police officer and to being feminine. This position, experienced as alternatives rather than as a synthesis of identity positions, could be identified in some of the critical incident narratives of the less experienced officers.

The process of commitment to an identity project and the intermediate stage of experimenting with different identity positions appears to fit both with Erikson's value for the life review as an important aspect of identity dynamics and with the observed behaviours of the policewomen in this sample. Thus Erikson's theoretical position can be useful in developing an understanding of the process of identity dynamics in this group of policewomen.

Reversal Theory, synergy and identity

Apter (1982) proposed that for an individual the existence of multiple identity positions is experienced not as a synthesis but as a series of what he termed reversals, in which the individual switches from one identity to another. For a very brief period, at the moment of reversal, individuals experience synergy, that is, they experience identity as being one thing and another thing even when the two are contradictory. Reversal is experienced when there is contradictory meaning associated with identity and is linked by Apter to two motivational states, Telic, when an individual is oriented towards a goal and Paratelic, in which the primary orientation is to immediate experience and sensation. This perspective was detailed in chapters two and three.

Since synergy is only briefly experienced during a reversal and since reversal is induced by a switching between the motivational states of goal directedness and current experience, one would expect awareness of contradictory identities to exist, or at least to be strongest, in situations where the telic and paratelic aspects of identity are most in conflict. Moreover, since Apter (1982) proposes that goal directed behaviour (telic) relates to goals imposed either by the needs of the body, of society, of self esteem or of the family and relate to some material achievement, then for a policewoman the tensions between the police aspect of her identity and her more widely constructed gender-identity are effectively tensions (i.e. the opportunity for synergy and reversal) between the telic and the paratelic. Hence for Apter the gender-aspect of female identity, the ascribed qualities of femininity, are lived-experiences in the present and only the work-

related aspect is goal directed and oriented towards a future state. In effect Apter reproduces, in different language, the "essentialism" of other gender discourses.

Within the paradigm of reversal theory one could predict firstly that tensions would only be recognised by the policewomen when they arose from conflict between goals relating to achieving in work and being a female individual. While such was a feature of the critical incident narratives this was not always the direct source of contradiction. Perhaps more important is the second prediction one would make of the data from the perspective of reversal theory, namely that identity as a female would not be a motivator. In other words goal-directed behaviour oriented around feminine aspects of the lived world would not be predicted to be a feature of these women's reported contradictions and conflicts. Clearly the data reported in chapter seven indicates that this second prediction cannot be supported.

While the idea of a synergy emerging as a consequence of a single identity having contradictory characteristics is theoretically of interest to any study of identity processes, it is difficult to identify any value in an attempt to operationalise Apter's theory. This may be a consequence of confusion in Apter's use of motivation as the central force in identity dynamics and his assumptions about the nature of goal-directed behaviour and gender.

Perhaps the most valuable idea which can be taken from reversal theory is Apter's (1983) proposal for the role of negativism or confrontation as being at the core of identity transitions. This negativism, the compulsion to act against the pressures from an external force which had produced identity conflicts, allows for confrontation which, in the sample of policewomen in this study, was seen to be a valuable and often used response.

Being a policewoman: capability in managing contradictions

Five important potential sites of conflict or contradictions in identity have been identified. These are the contradictions within the caring-enforcement dimension, the personal-work relationships dimension, within

public-police responsibilities and loyalties, within the loneliness-acceptance dimension and within fulfilment-lack of fulfilment. Within these sites of conflict gender identity plays a part in both the origin and the management of contradictions.

The policewomen in this research brought specific aspirations and values to their work. They were influenced in their decision to embark on a career in the police by aspects of the conditions of employment such as the good pay and the security of the job; they were also heavily influenced by values and expectations of public service. This ethic of public service and responsibility, identified as highly important in chapter Six and a recurring element of the critical incident interviews reported in chapter Seven, provides a secure base for competence in confronting contradictions and conflicts at work.

A large proportion of the women had some experience of the police force prior to entering the service, in the sense that relatives were, or had been, police officers and were in a position to give the women information about the nature of police work and police life. Even where this information was not the basis of encouragement for the women, it provided them with knowledge within which they could frame their own expectations and values for police work.

These factors, of vicarious knowledge of the police service and their personal values and aspirations, together informed in part the confidence with which the women examined their own parts in the conflicts they experienced at work. When confident of their position and the potential for fulfilling aspirations within the police force, the women could develop a competence in managing conflict.

The preferred styles of interacting with the world, as indicated by the MBTI profiles of the policewomen, can also provide insight into the ways in which conflicts were managed. The dominant characteristic in the sample of extraverting sensing, that is of having strength and preference for dealing with facts in the outer world, manifests itself in behaviour which is realistic and adaptable. This adaptability was a particularly notable characteristic of the women in the interview sample who had been promoted above the rank

of constable. Thus in terms of personality these women also are positioned to be competent in managing contradictions in their external dealings.

The common thread linking these three potential sources of competence is that all three suggest that competence is likely to relate to dealing with material realities. These women may experience internal conflicts and manage them in certain ways. But with the ethic of public service and a sense of job security, the understanding of the police force and of police ways acquired not only through their own experiences but also, for many, through the experiences of family and close friends, their level of education, and their personality or preferred interactional style, these women are well equipped to be capable and authoritative in managing contradictions through confrontation.

Contradictions in identity can be managed by passing, by denial, by isolation and by confrontation and in certain circumstances coping, through cognitive reappraisal, and exiting are possible strategies. These are considered in detail in chapter two. In this study the most prevalent strategy identified for dealing with contradiction and conflict was the strategy of confrontation. In the literature (see chapter two) confrontation is sometimes defined as negativism in the sense that confrontation entails negating the legitimacy of the rationale for the contradiction; this is particularly pertinent with respect to gender and identity. However it is not negative in any other sense; rather it is an authoritative action in an authoritative role.

Assertion in confrontation can be seen as far more than managing contradiction. It is connecting with the contradictions, even in a sense being creative within the contradictions, and not allowing any part of the system producing the contradictions to neutralise the response being made.

Discrimination against policewomen

The attention given in the media to the case of Alison Halford, former assistant chief constable in Merseyside (The Independent, 26th. July 1992) serves to underline existing knowledge about the existence of discrimination

in the police force against women officers, and the hostility of the establishment within the police to any public airing of discrimination-related grievances. Halford's case provided an opportunity for a public debate about an issue touched on in other research, discussed in chapter one, and referred to in this study both by interviewees and respondents to the questionnaire.

Hilliard (1992) noted that in response to Halford's claim of discrimination over repeated failure to appoint her to a more senior post, her employers launched a counterclaim that she had behaved in a way inappropriate to her position within the force and suspended her. Hilliard noted that her suspension was a consequence of alleged behaviour which in a man would have (and had not) provoked any attention. Halford (1993) concurred with this interpretation of her experiences; she felt that not only had she been unfairly passed over but that her own suspension was a direct consequence of her having challenged the discriminatory practices of the police system.

The source of the discrimination experienced by the women in this study seemed to lie not in a malicious desire to wound on the part of colleagues and superiors but rather in a deeply-rooted belief, unaffected by experience of competent policewomen, that women were by nature unable to cope with the requirements of policework. This belief did not lie outside wider societal values for women and beliefs about them. The men - and the very few women - who operated according to these beliefs of male superiority were not constructed within that belief system solely by their experiences in the police force. Such ideas are given status by a wider view of the difference of women, of their supposedly natural gentleness and sensitivity, their inability to deal with conflict and/or pressure and their physical weakness, when compared with men. However, within the police force a particular culture appears to exist which enables the expression of these beliefs, in both actions and words, in ways which would not be acceptable in other work or non-work situations.

This culture, when combined with a particular set of mores hostile to public criticism of any police action, no matter how inappropriate or damaging to police or public that action might be, means that there is no forum through which women can easily challenge discriminatory practices. Attempts to

prove through action their competence appears to have produced, for this sample at least, at best a grudging acceptance. In chapter one it was noted that Conrad and Glorioso (1975) had suggested that exposure to policewomen as work partners would change male prejudice against them, and predicted that, in view of the experiences of the policewomen reported in more recent research, such as that of Jones (1986), this seemed an improbably outcome. The evidence of this study supports that prediction; even when the women reported acceptance it was on an individual basis and in specific circumstances. More common was the experience of the sergeant, reported in chapter seven, who believed that discriminatory practices set in place by her inspector represented a generalised response to her own competence and combativeness.

What is clear from the data reported in chapter seven is that the women experienced discrimination at most levels and in most aspects of their work and also that they combated this through the implementation of various strategies related to defending challenged identities. I will propose at the end of this chapter that these strategies serve to strengthen the achieved identities of the women both inside and outside their place of work; Brewer (1991) suggested that any strategy adopted by women to manage a gendered identity at work will not influence her behaviour outside the workplace. I would argue that the data obtained during the course of this study suggests that this is not the case.

Sexual Harassment and the Police Service

In 1992 a policewoman in the Metropolitan Police alleged she had been raped while on duty by another officer; consequent to her complaint to her senior officers, she claimed to have been victimised by the Metropolitan Police and her career damaged. An industrial tribunal later dismissed her claims of victimisation (The Independent, August 12th. 1992).

Sexual harassment, short of actual rape, can be, like sex discrimination, difficult to prove. It is said to be difficult to differentiate between harassment which does not involve sexual assault and ordinary social interaction between males and females. This study did not explore

specifically experiences of sexual harassment, for reasons outlined in chapter seven, but several instances were referred to during the critical incident interviews (chapter seven). One woman recalled it having been made explicit to her that any transfer request made by her would be considered only if she agreed to allow a senior officer into her home after work. Several women commented on a low background level of harassment, involving behaviour such as putting inflated condoms in their lockers. Others commented on the interest in their private lives and in the level of gossip and sexual innuendo which followed many women officers. While these experiences may not be as serious as rape, they are known to have a generally deleterious effect on female self-value and self-concept (Squire, 1989). They serve to constrain the activities of women in a way which differentiates them from men.

Review and Conclusions

Generalising from the research findings

In chapter four it was noted that no significant differences in biographical information were found between the policewomen in the three different forces sampled. From this two conclusions were drawn.

Firstly it was proposed that this finding provided a basis for interpretation of material collected in later stages of the research, in that while differences between policewomen could be attributed to differences in personal experiences which might include experiences relating to difference in force policies relating to female officers, they could not be attributed in differences between forces with respect to the educational, employment, marital or age histories of their female employees. In other words the sample of women seemed homogenous along these dimensions.

Secondly, it was suggested that although individual police forces have considerable autonomy in determining staffing policies the homogeneity found may reflect some corporate strategy or value operating in the recruitment and deployment of policewomen. This might be a reflection of unwritten or informal rules in recruitment practices, or might merely

reflect consensus about the value of women in different aspects of policework.

In making suggestions, based on the interpretation of research data, for the existence of factors - experiences, styles of managing identity, attitudes - which are claimed to exist in a wider population than the sample involved in the research, it is necessary to establish the relationship of the sample to that wider population. The sample responding to the questionnaire and to the MBTI was homogenous, regardless of the fact that the respondents came from three different forces, each policing different types of communities. There is no reason to assume that they differed from women in other police forces. The sample of twentyfour women who were subjects in the interview stage of the research was chosen to reflect the range of experiences and ranks of those in the initial sample. On this basis there seems to be no grounds for predicting differences between them and the population of policewomen which could prevent a generalisation from this research. Moreover, the communality of experiences and responses experienced by policewomen of different ages, ranks and from different forces and illustrated in the interviews, also suggests that such experiences are also likely to be a facet of the identities of policewomen generally, not simply of this sample.

Policemen

This research has focused on the experiences of policewomen, in a context of a wider society in which the sexes are not equally valued and in which equal opportunities are not always accessible in practice. It was decided that male/female comparisons were not appropriate in investigating the identity dynamics of policewomen and policemen have not been in any way the focus of this study. None the less it appears to me to be problematic to refer to the ideals and values of policewomen for public service and accountability and to then leave the impression that policemen are excluded from possession of any such values. Policemen, too, have a sense of duty (Brewer, 1991), even if, from the accounts of male officers given by the policewomen participating in this research, that duty may be hard to identify. Many of the experiences identified as instances of contradictions for policewomen would also produce contradictions and pain for many male officers, such as the frustration of dealing with juveniles knowing they might reoffend, or

having to communicate death messages. However the male officers referred to by the women in this study seem not to have seen the significance of their having amplified the pain experienced by female colleagues by the addition of sexist and discriminatory practices.

I have already referred to the existence of an apparent corporate identity, of values and attitudes, which seem to stand above the individual forces or their individual members. If one assumes that many male officers do enter the police service with a sense of duty, is might be reasonable to suggest that in some way the police service "hijacks" the values of some of its members and in its whole is different from the sum of its constituent personnel.

Women's styles of policing and dealing with contradictions

There appears to be a consistent pattern not only in the nature of the preferred styles of dealing with the world (chapter five) but also in the ways in which the policewomen responded to identity contradictions and identity threat. However this pattern was different to the dichotomy of "modern" and "traditional", identified by Jones (1986) in her study of a British police force.

This may be explained as a product of more than half a decade of time having elapsed between this study and that of Jones; the difference between the findings could reflect an outcome of experiences as women, both in and outside work, in a social climate in which attitudes towards women's behaviour and women's work have changed radically. However, this is unlikely to be an adequate explanation. While there was possibly a "recency effect" in the women in the critical incident interview sample in their choice of incident to recall, this was unlikely to explain the difference in the range of responses found. A more likely difference lies in the difference in focus between this study and that of Jones; her interest was primarily in the different attitudes of male and female officers towards policewomen and the consequence of those for women's experiences. This study was primarily concerned with the ways in which women negotiated contradictory identity positions.

As a final point, it has been contended throughout this work that its central thesis is that gender identity is a synthesis, an outcome at any one time of experiences of being a woman in a number of social locations and within

different discourses. Brewer (1991) has suggested that gender identity is something to be managed, an accomplishment, and that the styles of policing adopted by the policewomen he observed, the Amazons and the Hyppolytes, did not extend outside the workplace. The theoretical accounts of identity reviewed in this study suggest that to conceive of gender identity as being thus fragmented is untenable. In addition the empirical data acquired during this study strengthens attempts to refute such a position; although experiences outside work were not specifically explored in the questioning, it appeared that their experiences as women in policing "valourised" these women across a range of gender-related issues outside their direct work experience and work practices. Far from gender-awareness relating only to a "managing" of a working life, it would seem that being a policewoman and the contradictions experienced and challenged, constitute a female police officer's identity as a woman in a multiplicity of social locations at work and outside it.

This study has been concerned primarily with examining the experiences of policewomen in their working lives and the consequences of these experiences for the strategies adopted by the women in maintaining a coherent (and positive) sense of self. In the sense that this was an exploratory study which has produced new ways of understanding the position of this group of women it can act as a base for implementation of both additional research and policy.

This data obtained in this study indicated that a relationship might exist between MBTI type and style of conflict management and psychological well being. However the data did not allow more than conjecture on the possibility; nor did it allow for an understanding of how any such relationship might manifest itself (for example in linguistic style or in actions). A study controlling for MBTI type and examining the minutiae of the way in which policewomen behave on a day-to-day basis might provide information of value in selection or in the counselling or management of personnel.

It has been suggested above that a difference in focus of the studies might explain the difference between the findings reported here and those reported in other studies of policewomen. Specifically this was a study

concerned with how individual identities were managed rather than with the relationship between identity and actual behaviour. Thus the difference between these findings and those of Martin (1979) and Brewer (1991) might be related to the methodology; Martin and Brewer both used participant observation and focused on behaviour in the specific social contexts of the work-place and work group, while this study was concerned with women's *accounts* of their behaviours, accounts which include a process of sense-making. Further research is needed to examine the generalisability of these findings, for example whether the styles of managing contradiction found to be used in this study can be found in all policewomen, regardless of force. For this to be explored would require compulsion on subjects to participate (since it is possible that volunteers might differ from non-volunteers). In addition, this research suggests a group of women who are psychologically well in spite of negative experiences. It may be that the ability/opportunity to "complete" a story is part of successful identity achievement. If further research indicated that this were the case then it is apparent from this study that one thing lacking for policewomen is a "voice" for communicating experiences or grievances. Changes in police policy and structures, either formally through the personnel section of a force, or informally through networking, could enable women officers to share experiences in a way not available to them in their present marginalised position within the police force.

Part of the process of achieving identity as a policewoman is confronting and defeating attitudes and behaviours which constrain her effectiveness as a police officer. She enters the force with values and expectations of police work which might include awareness of gender bias but which are more concerned with public service and personal fulfilment; these values with respect to work practices are part of her identity. This study showed that experiences of being devalued by colleagues, although leading at times to feelings of self-doubt, produced in response strategies for action and evaluation which gave strength to a personal sense of worth and to actions through which the policewoman could assert her value as a police officer and as a woman.

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Appendix A

I am conducting research into women at work. As part of my study I am interested in finding out how people view their own jobs. I would be grateful if you would complete this questionnaire; there are no right or wrong answers. Your replies will be treated in the strictest confidence.

1. Age _____ Name _____

2. Marital Status _____

3. Rank _____

4. Length of Service _____ years _____ months

5. Academic qualifications on joining the police:

'O' Levels/CSE	☐
'A' Levels	☐
OND	☐
HNC	☐
HND	☐
Degree	☐
None	☐

6. Have you obtained any qualifications since joining the police?

   Yes/No

7. **If Yes**, please specify _____

   (Please include promotion exams) _____

8. Occupation before joining the police _____

9. Present Occupation (Department) within the police service:

   Uniformed Senior Officer (Divisional/HQ) ☐

   Specialist Squads (please specify) ☐

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   Uniformed Patrol Officer

   Constable ☐

   Sergeant ☐

   Admin/clerical ☐

Community Constable	☐	Communications	☐
CID	☐	Training/Personnel	☐
Traffic	☐	Juvenile Liasion Bureau/ Crime Prevention	☐

Other (please specify) _ _ _

12. What were the aspects of policing which most influenced YOUR decision to join the police force? Please tick one box for each item.

	Very influential	Quite influential	Littile influential	Not at all influential
Job security				
Pay				
Good promotion prospects				
A job which gives a service to the community				
Interesting and varied work				
Opportunity to acquire a skill				
Opportunity to work as a team member				
Social facilities				
Assistance with housing				
A job which offers the chance to try many different specialisms				
Police work gives a good background from which to move to other work				
There is a lot of opportunity for meeting people				
A police officer can help to make the world a better and safer place				

Others (please specify) _____

_____

_____

_____

13. What aspects of your present work do you **like least**?

---

14. What aspects of your present work do you **like most**?

---

15. Have you had a break in your career (eg to have children or to study)?

Yes/No

If Yes Why did you decide to return to police work?

If No Do you intend to have a career break?

Yes/No/Don't Know

If Yes/Don't Know What kind of thing do you think you might do?
(eg study, have family, change job etc)

Would you return to police work? Yes/No

What hopes do you have for yourself and your career in the next few years?

16. Any further comments on your work:

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Your answers will be completely confidential, and data will be coded so no individual can be identified. If you are prepared to participate in further stages of this study, I would be grateful if you would leave a name and contact address/telephone number:

Letter to Serving Women Police Officers sent with biographical data questionnaire and MBTI questionnaire.

Dear Police Officer,

I am currently conducting a research project investigating the experiences of women police officers at work and I would be very grateful for your assistance.

As part of the research programme I am asking serving officers to complete some questionnaires about themselves and their work. I have consulted with the Chief Constable of your force and he has kindly given me permission to approach you. I enclose copies of two questionnaires; I would be grateful if you would complete them and return them to me in the envelope provided. The envelope is preaddressed and no stamp is required.

I must emphasis that there is no compulsion on you to take part in this study; participation is entirely voluntary. All responses you give will be treated in strictest confidence. Where names are requested they will only be used to allow cross-referencing between answers and after the data has been analysed there will be no way of identifying individual respondents.

I do realise that you have considerable demands on your time and I would like to thank you for any help you can give me.

Yours faithfully

Jane Prince

Follow-up letter sent to female officers one month after the first letter was sent.

Dear Police Officer,

I wrote to you a month ago asking for your participation in research I am carrying out on the subject of the experiences of women police officers. I know that you are extremely busy but I would be most grateful if you could spare the time to complete the questionnaires sent to you.

In case you have mislaid the copies of the two questionnaires sent to you, I am enclosing two further copies and a preaddressed and postage-paid envelope for their return.

Many thanks for your help.

Yours faithfully

Jane Prince

Appendix B

Table 1 ANOVA summary table examining the relationship between age and employing Force f

In order to investigate any difference between forces in the age distribution of policewomen an Analysis of Variance was performed. The summary table is shown below.

df	MS	SS	F	p
2	12.108	6.054	.160	.8523

The age ranges for female officers in each force are shown below.

Force W (N=35)
Mean age = 28.06 years (SE =1.04)
Range = 19-47

Force S (N= 82)
Mean age = 27.51 (SE = 0.7)
Range = 19-46

Force D (N=35)
Mean Age = 28.3 (SE= 0.94)
Range = 21-44

Table 2. ANOVA examining the relationship between Age, Length of Service and Force

In orderr to examine any interaction between age, length of service and employing force an ANOVA was performed. The results are presented in the summary table below.

df	MS	SS	F	p	
2	43.67	21.83	.306	.737	
1	288855	28855	7655	.0000	
2	9.110	4.555	1.209	.3015	
149		561.6	3.769	1.000	error term

Table 3 Anova examining the relationship between length of service and employing force

In order to examine any difference between forces in the length of service of policewomen an analysis of variance was performed. The results are indicated in the summary table below.

df	MS	SS	F	p
2	40.667	20.334	.545	.5809

Force D
Mean length of service = 6.91 years (SE = .92) with a range of .3 to 23.4 years.
Force S
Mean length of service = 6.13 years (SE = .7) with a range of .2 to 26.4 years.
Force W
Mean length of service = 7.5 years (SE = 1.04) with a range of .2 to 25 years.

Table 4. Kruskal Wallis Analysis of Variance examining the relationship between Force and qualifications of recruits on entry.

In order to investigate any difference between forces in the entry qualifications of female officers a Kruskal-Wallis Analysis of Variance was performed. The summary table is printed below

df	SS	MS	F	p
2	**3.437**	**1.719**	**.535**	**.587**

The educational qualifications of recruits on entry to the police service are summarised below.

Qualification	Overall %	Force D %	Force S %	Force W %
None	4	3	5	3
O-level	57	57	58.5	51
A-level	20	20	20	23
ONC	4	11	1	3
HND	3	0	4	3
Degree	13	9	12	17

Appendix C

Critical Incident Items

1. You went home really excited about your work.
2. You felt you had to speak out.
3. You felt you weren't up to the job.
4. It most struck you that your idea of what policework was about wasn't what you were actually doing.
5. What you did really made a difference to what other police officers you work with do or think about things.
6. You felt very much alone.
7. You felt you were bashing your head against a brick wall.
8. You saw offenders in a new light.
9. You wished you had been on a course.
10. You despaired of your colleagues.
11. You found police practices laughable.
12. You felt at odds with being a police officer.
13. You felt unsure the police was for you.
14. You lifted yourself out of a rut.
15. You felt your training had been useless.
16. You achieved particularly good results.
17. You felt proud of something you'd you had done.
18. You felt you had to adapt to police ways.
19. You felt very close to colleagues.

Checklist of prompts and issues to explore in Critical Incident interviews

Conditions

Where stationed?
Length of service/ location in career plan?
Colleagues - who? how long known? rank? relationships?
Superiors - who? how long? rank? relationships?

Climate in Force? relating to issue
Climate in station? relating to issue

General Morale in Station?

Self Identity

Private life - problems? supports?
Career point - direction of career?
- interests? specializations?

Decisions arising from situation - for you: positive: negative: personal:
career?
- for Force: nature: - policy & personnel
- policy & regulations/
practices?

How did this make you feel: self?
self as effective policewoman?
about force?
about your future?

Letter sent to interviewees confirming date, location and purpose of critical incident interviews.

Dear ,

Interview appointment

date: time:

Thanks for agreeing to see me and to be interviewed about your experiences as a police officer. As I explained when we spoke on the telephone, I would like you to talk about specific incidents which have been important or significant to you. I enclose a list of nineteen statements reflecting feelings people have about their work. I would like you to select five or six items and remember the circumstances in which you experienced such feelings. There are no right or wrong items to choose and no right or wrong responses to make. I am interested in exploring your experiences and your responses.

As I told you when I made this appointment I would like to record the interview to enable me to analyse your responses. However I can assure you that neither you nor your Force will be identified in the research report and your responses will be treated confidentially.

I look forward to meeting you; if there are any difficulties in keeping the appointment, I can be contacted at the address and telephone numbers above.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Jane Prince

Encl.

Appendix D

Brief biographical summaries of interview subjects

Cell One (police officers with less than 6 years service)

Subject Number

1. 23 years old, single constable, uniform, twentyseven months service at time of interview. (MBTI type ESFJ)

3. 25 years old, married constable, passed sergeants exams, had spent time in CID, back in uniform to improve her promotion prospects. Husband not in police force. Five and a quarter years service at time of interview. (MBTI type ISTJ)

10. 25 years old, graduate, married constable, uniform. Husband not in police force. Two years service at time of interview. (MBTI type ENTJ)

14. 20 years old, single constable, uniform, two years service at time of interview. Father a police officer. (MBTI type ESTJ)

19. 26 years old. Single constable, uniform, thirty months service at time of interview. Rural station postings. (MBTI type ESFP)

20. 21 years old, single constable, uniform, three years service at time of interview. Inner city postings. (MBTI type ESFJ)

23. 20 years old, single constable, uniform, eighteen months service at time of interview. (MBTI type ESFP)

24. 24 years old, single constable, uniform, three years service at time of interview. (MBTI type ESTP)

Cell Two (Police Officers of Constable rank with more than six years service)

Subject
Number

5. 27 years old, single detective constable, nine years service (MBTI type ISTJ)
6. 30 years old, eleven years service, married (to policeman) uniform constable. (MBTI type ESTJ)
7. 33 years old, detective constable, single, twelve years service (MBTI type ESTP)
9. 40 years old, single constable, uniform, fourteen years service (MBTI type ESFJ)
13. 33 years old, single constable, uniform, ten years service. (MBTI type ISFJ)
15. 32 years old, single detective constable, ten years service (MBTI type ESTJ)
17. 34, married constable, uniform, twelve years service (MBTI type ESTJ)
21. 31, married (to policeman) detective constable, ten years service (MBTI type ENTJ)

Cell Three: officers above rank of constable with more than six years service

Subject
Number

2. 30 years old, single detective sergeant, seven years service (MBTI type ISTJ)
4. 42 years old, married sergeant, uniform, twentythree years service (MBTI type ISTJ)
8. 45 years old, single superintendent, based in Divisional HQ, twenty years service (ISTP)
11. 40 years old, widowed sergeant, uniform, seventeen years service (MBTI type ESTP)
12. 41 years old, married (to policeman) detective sergeant, sixteen years service (MBTI type ISTP)
16. 41 years old, married detective sergeant, twentyone years service (MBTI type ENFP)
18. 39 years old, single detective sergeant, twentyone years service (MBTI type ISTP)
22. 27 years old, married sergeant, uniform, nine years service (MBTI type ESTP)

Appendix E

Full list of statements given to raters

I've got people working with me who are much more experienced years-wise but who haven't had such a wide base as I've had, which gives you a feeling of confidence that you do know what you talk about.

I look at the furthest thing, look at what repercussions there are to something then talk about it as a whole, not just the tunnel vision of the end object, but what effect it will have

Although I was only a PC then because they knew I knew how to do it I was sent there and I had to tell the Chief Inspector and Inspectors what to do, but after that they made sure they found out what to do

The average detective or the average bobby on the beat has nothing to do with these people, he doesn't have the knowledge (talking about legal administration requirements)

With some of the bad press we can't speak out and say the real reasons behind something, we've just got to put up with it, we can't come out and say "this isn't right"

If I'd just stayed in N, worked on the beat and gone straight to CID without going to these other things, I wouldn't be aware of them as I am

I don't get afraid walking around on my own or walking down a dark lane. I'm more afraid of making a fool of myself on an interview or on a Board or in court

I knew why I wanted to do it, I had all the answers but getting in that box, I felt very much alone

I've got a very good boss but he does delegate and he says "Right, here's an armed robbery, it's down to you" and then I find out that my little team of two , one's in court and one's off doing something else and yes, I am physically alone trying to solve it or trying to do what I've got to do.

It always seems to me that I end up being the one doing it on my own

I wanted to stay because I wanted to get involved , I would have stayed all night but I had this appointment

I don't want anyone else to clear up what I've started

You'd go and sit and talk and think "Why am I doing this? The parents should

solve this problem"

That was when I first realised that being a police officer, just because you are, they still don't take a lot of notice of you

You know you're going to be wasting your time with some juveniles but you still do it just in case

I ask myself why I am putting that victim through it all, why am I wasting my time trying to get the offender and then at the end of the day they walk away.

There's none there, noone comes up other than the officer in the case to tell the victim what has happened and why its all happened and what went wrong

You can't win because you either haven't done enough to satisfy the complainant and you get "you should have arrested someone, I know who did it" or you do go and arrest someone and nothing happens, OK they get found guilty, but some villain you know has done a series of breakins, he gets so many cases and they're all tried on the same day and they give him community service.

I think the punishments got to fit, not just the crime but the person who committed that crime and I don't think that always happens

We can't play the social worker as much as we'd like to

I don't see the follow up of how victim support helps someone through. I never know the results

The policewoman that was in the case they say should keep contact with the victim but how much or how long or how often is difficult...

Every time they see you they're reminded of the case. You don't want then to feel that you've neglected them but you want them to know you're there

Totally horrendous for the girl and no-one's thinking about her and I'm trying to say to the lawyers, you know "Let's think about her"

That's the day you want to give up on it all and then you get the letter and you think "OK well maybe I'm not wasting my time"

As I said before about the punishment fitting the crime, none of us wanted , er ,

and we were trying our best not for her to go to prison. Because she didn't deserve to go to prison, so you were trying to achieve the best all round. You had to solve the crime, she had to be absolved of her complicity of what she'd done.

You learn very early on and you forget how much you've adapted

Early on you don't know the system so you can't change it and by the time you've worked out what the system is you've become part of it

If you wanted to tell me what a police way is now, I'm probably so immersed in it that I don't really know what police ways are any more, if you know what I mean

If you miss a meal break, you miss a meal break, you just work on until you've done something

You've got a prisoner there and you're trying to talk to someone and they come in and start shouting remarks or talking about what they did last night, I mean just being unprofessional in front of people, that annoys me (talking about male officers)

You can't unwind with people who don't know what you're talking about, you don't have to spell it all out to colleagues so its easier

I mean psychologists and everyone else will tell you that having a drink isn't a good way to unwind but I mean we find it is. That's it.

I have to switch off totally, to walk in and sit and listen about cousin so and so's O-levels "Oh isn't it wonderful!" or someone's new dress and this and that and all I really want to do is scream

I don't talk to people about work only other police officers

I only worry about things that directly affect me and if there's something I can do about it, and if I can't do anything about it then why worry

Since the policewoman's department has gone and the women come under the men, the men don't seem to be able to tell policewomen off about dress

You can still be feminine OK, you've got a uniform on and you want to look feminine, fair enough but I mean there's overdoing it. Let's draw the line somewhere

You don't get any pressure on you at all up here (in C.I.D.). Especially with the females up here you do a lot with children, a lot of females problems ...you can take as much time as you want to talk to people.

Well it all depends on what situations are going on at the time - if there was nothing in the air when your term had finished in this department you'd go straight back downstairs.

I don't mind being given a week's notice, saying "next week we're going to be working a week of evenings" but I can't accept just at the drop of a hat "Yes, you will be doing this, that and the other".

They show you no consideration whatsoever.

If I were days today and Simon was days, we know that tonight we will have the evening together to do what we want and if my sergeant said to me know "you're on till 12 o'clock" I just would not be impressed one little bit.

I would have to back down because he is my sergeant and I am being instructed to do it.

It's a single person's job I think. I was quite happy when I was single..

If I had to work overtime I was probably quite happy to do it because it meant extra money for a start anyway.

If you're married to a policeman and he's working shifts as well, it can be very difficult.

You can't really shout at them its just the system, the way they do it, they don't consider you , your social life is not considered at all.

What you find is that they (policemen) talk shop, they talk the job, they eat, live and sleep the job and once I leave this office I can assure you I don't think about the job for one minute.

Its very difficult being a woman because they are so careful with their wives. They tell their wives nothing about your existence.

They're there with bated breath waiting for you to come and tell them everything and you are just desperately trying to do your job so carefully and do it the proper

way, you just get overawed by it all.

Its just so involved that I find it gets too much for me sometimes

I get there eventually but I feel sometimes I take too long in getting there. But then you can be criticised for doing something too quickly and not getting all the details.

If I were to deal with them (rape victim) more often on a regular basis then it would be just like a production line but then, its not fair to the person you are talking to, to sort of break them off quickly.

When you arrest someone its not just one form you fill in its about 400 forms you fill in

The essential information, it is very difficult to drag out of them (rape victims) because its an experience I wouldn't like to go through

You can submit it and do it all perfectly right and then in a week's time it will be No Further Action written across it and the person you dealt with is walking around laughing their head off. It a joke, you spend all those hours putting the paperwork together and it doesn't go anywhere.

I want to do something else which is far more worthwhile than what I'm doing at present.

I feel sorry sometimes for the one-off people that commit crimes because sometimes it's for money or sometimes there are sicknesses and disorders, fair enough.

Policewomen get assaulted now just as many times as policemen and its from people who know just who they are, there's no mistake

There's no respect there at all, its all gone, completely gone.

It was just the hardest thing I've ever done in my life and using my brains solidly every day of the week for a month, it was just incredible. When I passed I had a grade A pass on it and I was totally chuffed.

If I thought I had a chance of staying on in a department where I could use that permanently I wouldn't think about going because it's so interesting

I said it would be ideal to have something up here - and the senior officers said "no"

The senior officers didn't want to know, they said it was too expensive. But it would be ideal, we could refer to it every time.

I don't think I'd get that same excitement somewhere else, I don't know, I've never tried, but I don't think I would.

If I fail something I've got to try harder

The policemen these days have got that uniform on and a hat on their head and away they go. Straight up the high street, they don't talk to a soul

They love that uniform and they use it for their own benefit which I don't think helps the public at all.

You never get your real opportunity and you know that if you speak out you're either going to be moved or something is going to be done.

They never ask women why they want to leave, we just go, they don't really care, they have no interest whatsoever in our reasons for leaving, they just want something convenient to put on the form and they write us off as being neurotic.

Its unfortunate but its bad these days, they go to a crime and just make a few notes on a piece of paper "Burglary at this address" say "culprit gains entry through window, stole silverware" and that's the end, they'll just circulate that and expect someone to do something about it.

When I was first promoted I went to a station where they had two women constables. Suddenly they had a woman superintendent and a woman sergeant. They'd never had a woman supervisory rank before, a predominantly male station, no question, and the girls they had sort of made the tea and answered the phone and suddenly they had me and this was not appreciated.

I was being treated with great caution and even the inspector I had, it was a great problem, the things he called me, oh the way he acted, it was really bad news.

I managed to get this bloke in And from then on I was the praise of the place. "Wonderful, there's nothing wrong with women sergeants" simply because this was a well known criminal who was wanted anyway.

The time I felt most alone, that was nothing to do with the male-female thing, it's just that I was doing a job , a sort of undercover job..

I had to go and see her husband and I went on my own and there was no problem until he took his trousers off in front of me and I said "Oh my God" and I didn't have a radio and then I thought "That radio makes all the difference, that's your lifeline" and I didn't have that and I was very much alone but I talked him out of it.

When I first went to CID they sort of had a woman just because they had to have one really. They had to have a woman and she was useful for sitting with women prisoners.

I had to struggle to try to prove I was capable of doing the job, its still like that to some extent.

If I wanted to go to a burglary "Oh no one of the boys can go" "You can do this you can't do that" you know "You can go to the chip shop and get the chips". When that chap was there I felt alone then because the boys thought it was a big joke.

He's a pig of a man and he came in absolutely delighted that B (male officer) had arrested this chap. I said "He didn't sir, I did, he's my prisoner" "You did?" and his exact words were "You can't fucking arrest a man". I said "Well I'm awfully sorry sir but I just did". "You can't do that" "Why not?" "Because you are a woman, don't you know you're a woman?" So I said "I've done all the work Sir.." "I don't care what you've done" and he starts banging on the desk and swearing.

He said" You've got to understand you can't go round acting like a man"

Well in the end you know I didn't have much confidence .. just not letting me do anything

I thought "I'm sick of this " because I had work to do so I rang the switchboard and got the girl on the switchboard to ring the Special Branch office and say a DCI from another division was on the way up the stairs to investigate a matter. I waited by the phone and there was a scattering of everyone running..

a good policewoman now but I wasn't at one time and its no thanks to him that I got any experience because you know if he'd continued to be my senior officer I would never have had any

When I first started I thought "Well, let's give them all a chance" I never believed in the capital punishment, never. I thought it was a terrible thing but I'm

getting to the stage now where I totally believe in it.

You know just because they've got convictions doesn't mean they're bad people

In the police we develop instant experts on many subjects. If you take an interest in something or you go on a course, you're an expert on it. It is terrible.

I had to waffle my head off for ten minutes and all that time I was thinking "I wish I'd been on a course. At least I'd have some idea"

I despaired every time I was on duty with him, quite frankly. Because he has got the most terrible manner when he speaks to people. He speaks to people as though they're sub-human beings

He was always getting complaints made against him and then you would be dragged in to his complaint and then you would be feeling very uncomfortable.

To be honest with you I'm absolutely fed up with the police force at the moment. Really fed up because of the attitude of so many policemen

If I was a member of the public I would have made a complaint against him but I didn't feel I could do that because I'm a police officer

You get sexual harassment obviously and I know how to cope with that after all these years but it was difficult when I was younger,

I knew how to handle that but if it had been someone younger than me - my God how can someone with little experience cope with a senior officer saying such a thing..

You feel so sorry for them and at that time you don't want to be a police officer, you don't want to lock them up , you'd much prefer to help them in other ways but you can't because that is your job, it's what you get paid for and it isn't the sort of person that perhaps you are.

I've been quite proud of many of those times when I've got confessions, admissions or whatever, that other people haven't done, just by being patient or by being polite.

I did feel quite pleased about that and I felt pleased, perhaps not for myself, but because I was woman because none of the men did it or showed any inclination to do it.

Maybe he (the Chief Constable) wouldn't have come to see a man.

It does help females as a whole to know that they are not just there to sit down, look pretty, make the tea...

There have been many changes in the job in recent months which are the most ridiculous imaginable. It's put the force back at least 10 or 15 years. It is a joke.

He said "You haven't passed your exams yet have you?" in the middle of the conversation. I said "I don't want to be promoted" "Well I'm telling you if you don't pass your exams by next April then you are going back into uniform". Then he rang me and told me the same thing the next day and that was just because I told him something he didn't like and upset him.

I've very few friends in the police force

You know you could go out with the boys on occasions but sometimes to be accepted you have to be one of the boys. If you can swear - I didn't swear before I joined the police force but I do now.

The attitude to a lot of policewomen is that if she sleeps with one of the policemen she's referred to as the station bike, if she doesn't, a few of them have tried it and she doesn't, she must be a lesbian. You know, if you're happily married they can just about accept it.

As far as I'm concerned there's a lot of social work involved in the police force and its certainly about that. It's certainly about helping people as much as you can which is the stupid reason I joined in the first place, thinking I was going to be helping people.

You haven't got time very often to do the things you would like to do, and you can't just leave them and it is difficult to draw the line.

Maybe it would have been easier if there was a woman in a supervisory role who might be able to understand without asking questions especially when you can see a relationship coming to an end

Whereas maybe a woman would've said "do you fancy going to the cafe" or "would you fancy going for a drink" the men just gave me plenty of space, left me alone a lot.

Initially work was in itself causing a problem because I couldn't cope with it but at the end it was my salvation.

I like to see a clear desk, its a lovely feeling you don't get very often but to know you've cleared your backlog, that's a sense of achievement definitely

It automatically followed that anything the boys termed as griefy landed in my lap which included rapes, indecency, children , that sort of sexual allegation or anything that's over-emotional would be mine, although technically that's not supposed to happen.

When I'm actually given one of these cases to deal with I don't know what decisions have been made and how on earth I'm going to play this.

I never managed to speak to anyone who said A) you've got to do that B)you've got to do this and if you can't to B get onto D, and generally give me a set pattern of what to do with.

He automatically assumed I would know because I was a woman obviously and I thought "I haven't had a course, how the heck should I know?"

I asked if I could have a course when I came back to divisional work and I was told "Well you don't need one of those, you've been a policewoman for years, all you need is common sense, why on earth do you need one?"

I got to know the county solicitor who's dealing with them, and I've developed my own contacts, built up a working relationship with social services, but I didn't half wish I'd been on a course - I just didn't know what I had to do.

What they are assuming will happen is if there's anything like that, it will be allocated to a male who will have a uniformed policewoman to assist him.

I thought if I admit now that I don't know what I'm doing , have already asked for training, so everyone sat round and there was me and we all sat around and chatted and talked about it and I had *tremendous* support.

Yes, it is emotionally upsetting but not to that extent because at the end of the day its thrilling to think you've possibly saved the children's lives.

All I wanted to do was to help the public but now as the years have gone by I've realised you can't be the social worker, the lifesaver, the someone who extinguishes fires, basically the job is to detect and prevent crime

Yes, I've almost at some stages because I'm a woman become a social worker as well.

Its up to the public to decide what kind of people they want; do they want us to be just out catching criminals or do they still want that "Hello" officer, how are you, I wonder if you could help me".

It is difficult to tell friends the truth which is, outdoors it is a piece of cake, its easy; everything, although they are different, is treated exactly the same.

It would appear sometimes that expenses and overtime are paid out of the bosses pockets; to get what you're entitled to is harder than catching criminals

Everybody who decides what I should do, at one stage or another did what I'm doing now, but they must have very short memories that's all I can say because they seem to forget the problems and the difficulty it is when you're at the bottom of the ladder.

We've sat and discussed something and thought "this is wrong, this isn't working, we ought to do it a different way" and we get an opportunity, maybe a conference, and the boss will say "how do you think we should solve it?" and I think "Here's my chance, shit or bust, I'm going for it" and you speak out and you look behind you and there's noone there.

That's definitely the most frustrating and anger-producing, not being outside dealing with the public, but being inside dealing with the problems involving immediate colleagues and bosses.

You work ridiculously long hours, any social plans are out of the window, and at the drop of a hat the phone goes or the boss approaches you and puff! you do it and you know you won't get paid for that because the purse will only allow you so many hours overtime and you are well past that.

Then when the jury came in there were about eight or nine females on the jury and I thought "Well there's no way you men are going to speak to me like that again. Because you'll lose credibility with women on the jury surely"

It's dangerous, you shouldn't get too confident about going to court, I think its safer to always be a little bit apprehensive and nervous, because you don't know what's going to happen in there but if you're slightly nervous you're going to concentrate a bit harder.

A lot of the boys tend to confide and where I chose not to confide my problems,

lots of boys confide theirs, mm and I suppose from being working colleagues they become friends and that makes you close to them. Maybe its because I've been in the job longer, because lots of the girls join the job and within two years they've gone, there's allegations of husband hunters etc..

You get the obvious, "You've met my wife, what do you think she'd like for Christmas" "Will my wife like such and such" or even to the extent of er "Here's some wrapping paper and ribbon - you wrap it, I'll never do it" and they won't either

very happy where I am at the moment and I like the working relationship I've got with the boys that are there

I feel close to colleagues when we get to a traffic accident, but that's , although its not forced and false its not a natural closeness, it's a tragedy that's brought you together and it isn't something that continues, a permanent closeness I think develops with the years.

I think now with the attitude I've got with the boys I work with, if I ever was on trial then it' over and I have passed and they are more accepting now and I hope that doesn't change.

That sounds dreadful as though I am manipulative - I know how to handle him

I don't know whether it comes from a man-management course or whether it comes from his heart but it counts, he does notice; even when I lost weight he said "Gosh, you've lost weight" just little things like that, yes, I like him.

Every shift was really exciting because its nothing like training so I found it very, very exciting to begin with.

I just stood there and so of course my first booking was a bit of a disaster but I can remember it because I didn't really want to book the people because they were two young lads who had made a genuine mistake and I felt sorry for them which I wasn't supposed to do.

Of course its just assumed that you know where everything is, it doesn't make you look very good, you lose face but its quite funny, I can joke it off, I think maybe more so from a woman than from a man, you can get away with a bit more.

I was 19 in the station, expected to sort out 40 year-olds problems and I'd think "Well, I haven't experienced that" you know. So its very difficult. I found it quite hard in a lot of ways.

I really hated my whole training, I hated every minute. I put on weight because I was worried and I was eating, worry, feeling self conscious. I didn't particularly get on with any of the girls.

I don't like arguing and petty bitching; in school I was always hanging around with the boys. I always got on better, er, all my friends are males now. Maybe that's why the job appealed to me in some respects because it was men and not many women because I don't like all the bitchiness really.

The only thing that kept me going was thinking, "Well, surely they don't treat you like this in a station, because the drill sergeants were treating you as if you were a piece of shit.

There was class rivalry (in training) but I didn't let it affect me , that was between the boys really.

I don't look like a policewoman and I walk in and they're totally at ease.

If someone's been raped or interfered with they don't want a 6 foot, hairy policeman as they describe them. They do relate to you more.

be the first to admit, we haven't got the physical strength and whatever any real feminist, extreme feminist says that "Oh you know we can do ..." we can't, we can't do the same job but we have our uses just as men have theirs.

We do come in handy whatever the real pigs of policemen, and there are a few, whatever they like to think, we do have our uses.

I like to think I've got charm and have a joke with the boys and they soon forget and they don't want to hit a poor little policewoman the, because she's so nice to them.

I managed to handcuff him and I don't know how but not before he kicked me in the shins, headbutted my colleague, split his lip, we were spinning round the room and it was a hell of a state, of course you are 10 or 15 minutes from help, that's why you've got to learn to speak before you, you've got to try to talk your way out of it.

I mean no-one hits a cute little WPC, he did and I was quite shocked because I'd never been hit before.

I just didn't want to be there really , I would have loved to have.. all I wanted to do

was punch him in the face. That's all I wanted to do. I wasn't a police officer, I didn't want to be a police officer. I felt like crying because I'd seen her and wasted all my time talking to her, thinking I could help her, get social services, try to make her happy, and I saw this pervert and.. I've never felt like hitting anyone so much.

You have to be professional and ask all these questions and you knew you were getting barefaced lies, and if it had been someone on the street you'd give them a punch and a shake and sort them out, but you couldn't with him.

Well, alright, they had a laugh but why should I go to a post-mortem, what benefit do I get from seeing them prodding around and why should I go there?

I don't like blood but I'd be the first to help someone, you know I know my job and I'd overcome that fear for that.

Well I had my whole weekend, you only get one weekend off in four. I had my whole weekend, I was going to go out Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Of course I had to stay in because.. well its vain, but I didn't want to go out to a club with a fat lip.

I walked to the door and my Mum said "Oh my God, .." you know. They said "what happened to you?" I said "I got hit on the lip". I could hardly talk and they were laughing at me then but Mum was really worried.

Maybe the women should get to throw the blocks sometime, we just got bombarded the whole time, we didn't get any revenge, we didn't get a chance to throw any petrol bombs or blocks.

I don't particularly like nights but its nice, you have the day free then so it comes in handy.

The sergeant made my and the other girl on the shift you know, he used to pick on us and pull us aside but I mean I didn't let him get to me too much, because I mean you've got to look at him at face value and think "What's he doing?" you know "he's scruffy, he smells, he's smoking and drinking himself to death. He won't be here much longer" so I try not to let him affect me because I think I'm doing my job, whatever he says.

The training was useless, I mean, the physical made you cope with shifts better, it made you a bit fitter but the role plays... alright you've got to learn the law but you didn't learn much law there, its only when you're out on the street that you really think.

They all ran forward and I just stood swinging my handbag and the support group

were the other side of the net saying "get him, get him, get him" and I was saying "There's only me", it was unbelievable. For years after people would say "I saw you at the Portsmouth game, swinging your handbag like a Zulu" and I'd say "I was trying to keep them away from me".

Its a man's world and we've encroached on it.

It wasn't a very serious incident in my opinion and that will teach me to have opinions.

They ring up and they're so abusive because you haven't sent anybody and I mean you've got burglaries and God knows what outstanding, and you haven't got anyone to go and yet these people with abandoned cars which is a favourite you know, "Well why haven't you sent anyone to check this car"

You get told "No, you don't make decisions" and you think "What am I paid for?" , I mean you've got to make decisions, the sergeant isn't always there.

We then have to create an incident for every 999 call received, even if you've no information .. it's all time wasting you know, when most of the time there's more urgent things to be done.

When I joined it was them (the public) and us. Now its us, seniors, complaints and discipline department and them.

There's enough aggravation now, the public think we're the lowest of the low as it is.

If I've got to lock someone up then I will do, but I would certainly rather help people which is what the police are there for.

Well, I mean, I haven't been in may pursuits but once the adrenaline is flowing you've got this silly woman or man on the end of the radio saying "Why are you pursuing this vehicle. What are road conditions" and the poor driver is trying to drive, probably at high speed 'cos you don't get many low speed pursuits, he's trying to be aware of the public, the road and he's got this silly woman prattling in his ear, but HQ say they have to be asked these questions.

That's all they're (senior officers) concerned about "We told him to stop and its on the incident record"

I shudder when I hear the way some people I work with, the way they speak to the public, the way they speak on the radio, you know it's amazing they don't have

complaints every day.

The powers that be down in HQ, you know in the communications division, they just sit and they check all the incidents and they think "Oh she's put three s's in that word and there are only two, I think we'll tell her off about that", its pathetic, absolutely pathetic. We don't want praise every day but we could do without the nit-picking.

fed up with covering for these people who are out doing something that perhaps they shouldn't be doing and they haven't told the people at home and I'm trying to cover for them.

I didn't like not being recognised as a police officer, you know, having to go round and show the warrant card, I like the uniform, I like for people to know who I am.

Nothing has ever put me into ecstatic excitement about anything to do with the police

I get really annoyed with the attitude of putting the kiddie back in the family unit only to find out that the next time you're on duty on nights or weekends we get the same call.

We see things differently, our idea is law enforcement. That's what we're trained to do isn't it? We're not trained to look at the wider horizons.

Ultimately that's what police do isn't it, go for prosecutions; Social Services rarely go for prosecutions

When you generally look across the board at the police and what they do, well I mean, their idea of the public is what they deal with , it's a low life the strata they come across.

They're (recruits) either very idealistic and that gets knocked out of them quite soon or they're already quite cynical.

When I've worked really hard and felt "Well, I really deserve a commendation" - nothing.

He wrote this lovely letter to the Chief Constable saying what a darling I was not breathalising him and of course, I was dragged over the coals for neglecting my duty. When you expect them to shut up they don't and when you expect them to say something .....

Superintendents in this new ideal are managers not policemen, that's the idea, managers of their budget, managers of this and that.

We've got some awfully dull people in the police force, we've got some good ones but we've got some thick ones

You get policemen exercising powers of arrest they haven't got. You know someone brought a university lecturer in one day for dropping a Mars bar wrapper and I just looked at him and I said "Was he swearing, the lecturer?" ..."No Serg." "Did he say anything?" ... "No Serg." and you can't say to a PC with a prisoner ...that's the last thing you can say, "You haven't got the power of arrest" you can't do it.

What I consider a good result the public might not, its a personal thing.

You look at anything that's a mass event, mass murder, mass robbery and its always the uniformed bobby that stumbles across it. Yes, so do detectives detect crime?

He was armed and they discharged a firearm, I hid under the seat, now I've never been armed, I don't want to be , it's a personal thing .. nothing would have brought me out of there and my partner was saying "It's alright H, it's alright".

Its the Police instant expert syndrome, I know nothing about licensing, I'm here purely and simply because I'm the senior sergeant in the sub-division. It's the same on the drug squad, you go Monday and Tuesday you should be able to distinguish heroin from crack.

"You felt close to colleagues" - I think its a case of having to be close to them really because noone else wants to be close to you.

My husband is a policeman and he's got this rule that you can only speak in our house about 20 minutes of police and that's it.

I always remember when I went to M station I thought the object of the exercise was to catch the villain by fair means or foul, bang them up, put them in court, thank you very much and that was a cop, that was my impression

I couldn't understand that you were supposed to be truthful.

I joined just when the policewoman's dept. was in existence and I was up to my

armpits in lost kids, shop-lifters and just generally it wasn't the things I wanted to do.

I called for the sergeant, they're wonderful things sergeants when you are on probation, they sort of come along and put oil on troubled waters you know, while I was standing there and didn't know quite what to do with this dead body.

If I'm in charge and its an iffy kind of thing then my view is "You'll do as I tell you to do"

I eventually went to the Chief Superintendent and said "Look do you think I could possibly have some easy shifts", meaning day shifts, explained the reason about my husband being ill and having the new baby etc. etc. and I was told that my job came before my home and family, and no help was given whatsoever.

I was qualified to sergeant, although I was a WPC and I was also a qualified Instructor, you know training at the training school. So that was two things they were losing, just because they wouldn't play ball until I was sorted out.

Its an organisation that's run mainly by men and its probably a lot of our own fault because we haven't got women at the top.

Men haven't got the same priorities as women. My home is as important as my job to me and I try to run both properly.

It came to the point where I had to return to Force (from being an instructor). Fair enough I knew that was coming along but where was I going to go and I just kept hanging on and hanging on waiting to know where I was going to. It did make me ill in the end.

The other day I was duty sergeant here and X telephoned (large town some 80 miles distant) and they wanted a WPC and they hadn't got one between here and X to deal with a child abuse.

I don't feel we have got enough facilities, I'll be quite honest and I can understand the girls not joining or staying in. Its not so much facilities at the station its literally the attitude of senior officers.

So they've got a "hooli-van" and a woman isn't allowed on the "hooli-van", but she can walk the street on her own.

The one Inspector in particular , we've had words and I think it stems possibly from me because if he had a woman on the van he hasn't got any excuse for not

having me on the van, so it could be from that really. I don't know. It's getting personal now isn't it?

Especially with children, the majority of policewomen haven't got children and you don't just suddenly turn on this miraculous maternal instinct. I say often the men have more experience than I have with children: I've only got one, some of them have three or four.

We try and have a light-hearted relationship, so there is fun but the work is still done and its done properly and I like to think that if I'm on duty everybody feels happy .

And you have to realise that if you haven't experienced what that person is going through its no use saying to them "Oh I know how you feel" because you don't know, you've no chance of knowing how they feel at all.

I think you've got to give yourself a project if you like and certain ideals to achieve.

I've always enjoyed the..how do you say it.. the non-booking aspects of the job. I get more satisfaction out of that.

She stole some clothes from Mothercare, now I could understand that and I was able to get hold of her doctor and you know we tied the ends up nicely so I didn't feel she was persecuted and she got the help she needed. In fact they cautioned her in the end which was even better and although she was caught and I had to deal with her I felt that we were dealing with it in the right way and that's the type of thing I enjoy.

With sergeants and ranks above, there's a lack of awareness really, realising that things have to be done and seen to and you've got to give time for it. And you don't have to be macho .

The first sudden death was a male, about 70 he was, and the sergeant said "let's send A.." "Oh you can't send her , it's a male" So I said "Well I don't mind if he doesn't and he's not going to mind".

I think I was the first woman in C division to do an Aide to CID and I think that was the booziest 3 months I have ever spent.

I thought "Well, I've got to specialise in something" because it is the done thing to specialise in something. So I thought "Well I'll pick something which is nearest to the beat that I can get", which is training so that's why I picked training.

Prior to equality in this force we used to work the same hours as the men but we did have an hour break. I can never understand why make us come down to three-quarters instead of putting themselves up to an hour. Can you understand that? Anything to be bloody minded - make sure the women come down to us .. they could have ended up with an hour's meal break couldn't they?

I don't want to do a course. Its being away from home. It was nice when I was single but not now.

On the odd occasion when perhaps I haven't felt that we have dealt with something in the right way and I felt like siding with the other side.

I don't think enough consideration is given to the fact that yes a woman very often wants a career but she also wants a family.

We ought to have people in personnel who are aware of the problems , who realise that yes, OK, you've got a very efficient, capable, effective policewoman here but she's got a young child and the child's got measles and wants Mummy - can't we see our way clear to allowing her or the father for that matter to have a few days?

I've got to the stage now that if I'm by-passed because I'm a female, it's water off a duck's back now because I can't be bothered to fight any longer, I've fought for long enough and I feel it's up to the younger ones now to take up the candle.

Yes they'll take on a man with a family because he's regarded as steady but in terms of a female with a family....

When they're probationers they're learning all the rules and the ideology of the force, and they can't speak out, they can't contradict..

While I had been in bed the CID had taken over interviewing them and I was just lying there thinking " I wish I could be there hearing exactly what had happened and what they're saying"

An afternoon that finishes at 10 is the hardest to unwind from, I get home at 10.30 and my husband is ready to hit the sack then and I'm just at a loose end, I just don't know how to unwind. I end up perhaps watching tele for a couple of hours and have a drink. It's difficult.

For a long time I was the only female on the shift and I was still trying to keep a

low profile, trying to negotiate what my position was and what was expected of me, whether I was going to be seen as too pushy.

I find a lot of people find out and say "I didn't know you were a graduate!" I don't talk about it unless anyone asks me, I don't say it.

There's a kind of thing about having to keep cool you know, you have to pretend it's just run of the mill.

It was a male body. I had to physically search it and I couldn't do it. I never told anyone that I hadn't done it. I didn't search him.

Maybe they think that if they encourage you to look at it like that , it's not going to be so difficult but I mean if you're on your own in a room with a corpse there's noone to crack a sick joke with and you've just got to do it.

I feel there's less pressure on women to prove themselves in a lot of ways. If we go out for a drink after work or if we go on a session there's no pressure on me to get absolutely paralytically drunk, whereas I feel there is for some of the younger blokes.

There I was in front of this woman who'd been raped and her mother and I'm saying "Oh sorry" you know, "I've just got to read this" and I didn't have a clue, I mean I cocked it up.

They don't tend to call people out off duty for that, they'll send miles for someone who's on duty, rather than phone up a woman who's been trained. I don't know how other women feel about that but I certainly wouldn't mind being called in off duty to deal with something like that.

Men can't empathise in the same way. I mean always I think, the woman has got to think "Oh this could be me" and that could be my complaint that goes down the Swannee because someone hasn't done the job properly.

At one point I was toying with the idea of going to see her off duty, you know, to see if she wanted to come out shopping or something and I thought "Hang on, what are you getting into here? Should you be doing this?" because professionally I had nothing to offer her.

I phone d the team leader but it was very difficult to do that. I felt I was poking my nose into something I didn't know anything about and I'm not sure I'd have liked it if a social worker had phoned my inspector and said "Look we're not happy with the way your PC T is dealing with this".

There's still no set procedure for dealing with domestic violence. The unspoken rule is that unless you are absolutely sure that the woman is going to make a complaint and go to court, you just get rid of it. Now I believe that if there is an assault taking place - you pursue it regardless of what the complainant says but it doesn't happen in practice, it just doesn't and I just think it's ridiculous.

They think too much in terms of results. They think of ten hours paperwork for someone to make a withdrawal when it comes to the court date.

Paperwork really gets me down. Constantly shuffling one bit of paper from one department to another you know. God, it's ridiculous. It seems to me to create more problems than it actually solves.

When it happened I felt I was looked on in a different way and although I didn't want to feel like it, I felt quite pleased. I mean because I hate physical violence and I had this real war within myself about feeling proud that I had managed to do what was expected of me , when really I should have been feeling "Oh God, that was awful".

Going over the top is not seen as true courage. I think its viewed by a lot of policemen as attack is the best form of defence you know, but if a policeman will go in and attack before it's necessary I think other policemen will think perhaps he is lacking in bottle.

That was like a test for myself as well and I passed for myself, it was a physical courage test as well.

You are judged by how many arrests you get rather than how much of a service you actually provide and I think that's wrong.

The problems the police force have got at the moment would be resolved to a large extent by highlighting the service side of it

I did six weeks in W once (middle-class suburb) and that was so different, such a shock walking down the street and having people come up to you for a chat and you have to alter your whole discourse you know the way you speak to people.

I remember the first day I went out and I just thought "God help the poor bugger who comes along ... because he's mine".

I know that friends have changed towards me , well they keep it quiet for a long time and eventually it came out that they'd been discussing me and saying how I'd changed and I tried to do something about that.

I just feel like saying "Have you any idea what I've had to deal with today and you're worrying about the fact that my hair's down on my collar".

I won't shut up about racist remarks

Well you see the stupid thing is that they'll say things in front of each other and then when I'm on my own with them I'll say "God you looked really uncomfortable when so and so said something" and they'll say "Yeah, I'm not really racist and I don't like to hear it" well why the hell go and laugh then, why the hell do men do it?

very often I feel that I should speak out but I don't and very often when I do speak out I find I've made the wrong decision and that I shouldn't have spoken out, not because I'm wrong but because I get trouble.

Women haven't got the same sort of physical capabilities as men, yet they've got qualities that a man hasn't got.

I think we're a very badly qualified profession, you know , I've tried my exams twice and failed but I think in our job, we shouldn't be allowed to go on for years and years and not pass our exams.

I went on a child abuse course and I haven't dealt with one since. So if there's one came up tomorrow now, I mean things I should remembering, I wouldn't.

I've never got enough time to do what I want to do and I always seem to be snowed under with people, whereas the boys seem to dash theirs off and there's no problem.

I've got so much to do and I can't cope.

I think whereas the boys can write it straight down, I can't. I've never been able to do that, I always write it down in rough first.

Basically that's what community policing is about, you know, to be there. But I'm so far away from the area.

not so criminally minded and a lot of police I find have got to be criminally minded to think and realise how these criminals act. Which isn't in my nature so I'd never be any good at CID.

I don't particularly like being sent on courses. I don't like being away from home so I don't.

Its the way colleagues deal with the public, a few have been very very arrogant. It's not a job that requires you to be rude to people but also next week they might be wanting a member of the public to help them and what that member of the public will remember is that someone in uniform was mouthy to them.

There's always certain police officers that go out regularly on a Saturday night and get assaulted or regularly rub somebody up the wrong way and starts a fight.

I couldn't come in tomorrow morning and say "Right I'm going to do this today", you know, I mean there's no such thing as forward planning.

I wouldn't fit into another job. If I do finish in the police force I would never do anything else. I'd do voluntary work but I would never work for somebody else.

No two domestics are ever the same. Sometimes you go there and its all quietened down by the time you get there and then they see you and they want to take it out on you.

I had a birthday party for my birthday, you know I came in for supper one night and there was a birthday cake and spaghetti bolognese and a bottle of wine which I didn't know anything about and valentines day there was a rose and a card. They are friendly sort of boys.

Trouble is all I do is eat, sleep and come to work. I don't have any social life.

It takes a great deal now to probably excite me and you probably become used to dealing with most incidents.

I thought there was something I had never ever thought of before as a platform for some form of Crime Prevention.

There were only two white people in the church, that was myself and the ethnic affairs officer.

Now I came from there, from his office, in total trepidation because in general policing terms writing an annual report has got nothing whatsoever as I saw it to do with policing.

Here I was as the only woman now, the only woman who's just been promoted, the only woman Superintendent in the force and I was being asked to do something which I really felt perhaps I was out of my depth but certainly wasn't going to admit.

I was responsible for force budget, millions of pounds with no experience in accounting and I found it astonishing that the force should give me such a responsibility with virtually no training.

It's one of the weaknesses in the police force that they are constantly changing, you can be expected to become an instant expert.

In my particular role I am very much on my own and the buck stops here I suppose.

I instructed officers to form a cone in front of the gate, many of them were now feeling the pressure on their ribs, were starting to lose consciousness and many did not wish to carry out my instructions. So you're now in conflict with your own group.

It is quite terrifying being caught up in the vortex of the crowd, no matter how big or strong you are your feet will lift off the floor and people in large groups will not heed you even if you are there.

You hear people saying " Superintendent from policewoman" buy I mean I don't have any difficulty.

The occasion that did cause much comment was when the results came through. They probably thought it was fixed as they usually do, with women I mean, I think comment was probably passed but not by those that know us but those who don't know us.

From a police point of view I have difficulty hiding in a corner because there are so few police women.

Well, it's not a job where you normally have a close relationship with somebody.

If you are young in service then you, perhaps you are more idealistic and you expect it to be something different but it really is what I expect it to be.

I mean perhaps not wearing your helmet, where its seen perhaps as a serious offence to management, but at the time the circumstances were such that the officer was doing, in your opinion, a good job.

They assume that because you are a woman that you are going to be able to deal with children, I mean personally, I'm not a person who particularly enjoys the company of children and yet I can think of male officers here who thrive on it, they can't wait to get the nappies changed.

Certainly male officers tend to think that all women have got the maternal instinct and want to look after all the missing kids and I don't think that's the case.

I mean, policewomen, we are just desperate for them, I mean there are so few and I tended to think, I was a bit naive, I thought perhaps when I came then perhaps I'd give women a better chance but it had no effect whatsoever.

They get into a habit of putting things first on paper and then putting it into their pocket books. that's how they're taught.

When I joined if you started your pocket book in black ink you weren't allowed to change it. You know its really sort of archaic.

He's an intelligent bloke, the sergeant, but to my mind he uses the job. He goes off while he's on duty, shoots off and does his own thing.

We were left to look after the shift all the time by ourselves and then we'd play cards, playing cards you know its nice to sort of come in and sit down and take your mind completely off police work.

This sergeant, the boys were hiding from him because he wanted to have a beer and they wanted to do their job because times have changed. This guy hasn't changed you know.

not afraid to say "oh, I'm not doing that" you know "I don't believe that's right and I'm not doing it" .

The sort of thing I despair about is that people are left in the job like that sergeant.

I think basically that it was the money that changed the calibre of the recruits.

The people from different pockets of society, they see us from very different angles, we come into contact with a normal person only when there's a death in his family or he's been burgled.

There's nothing wrong with the way they've been brought up . Its their choice and they choose to do that. Burglars choose to go burgling houses.

People, I call them do-gooders, if they knew the reality, you get boys of 15 into the police station, you know you nick them and they're telling you how to fill in the forms and "oh yeah" you know, "You've forgotten this bit" and they know their CRO number and I sometimes despair of that.

You go into houses in my area and you wipe your feet before you go in and you wipe your feet when you come out.

I always think to myself they will grow up. They do most of them do , even thieves you know, you come across really nice people.

She was admitting offences, but having been in CID so long, I knew they would prefer to have a witness statement off her rather than start to caution her and making her uptight and whatever and so I took it as a witness statement.

They do deals with the defence and the prosecution , they deal and cross out what they don't want the court to hear.

They were going to use her as a prosecution witness because how else .. all the people in that kind of society ,you know, they're committing offences all the time. You'd never get any prosecution witnesses would you?

On the Crime Squad, surveillance its the biggest part of your job, especially if you're a woman because you are good cover. You know, I mean a woman, especially as little as I am, you don't look like a police officer.

Something that made me feel lonely was when I first went to Crime Squad was that I really had to come to terms with following people about and being like the Big Brother syndrome. That's something that really worried me and I felt it's something that nobody else can explain.

I had to really think hard about the work I was doing because I was seeing these people, like getting up with them and they didn't know I was there and it frightened me.

I mean we're very private beings aren't we. I wouldn't like everybody to know what I've been doing all day.

Being excited was true of those years the early, early years but then as the years wore on, um, I suppose you got used to the job.

I've always felt that the police force was a professional body and I have been shocked when I've met colleagues who haven't wanted to do this, or perhaps they've been in the pub drinking when they should have been on patrol

I seemed to be making more of an effort than were my colleagues to go out and find work and because I was out there and they were inside playing cards, I came across things.

Certainly its important that you must be part of that team as a woman, but I don't think you are ever part of them, really accepted as one of them.

There was a period of three night shifts when I was acting sergeant and on the Friday night, the Saturday night and the Sunday night I went home covered in blood.

Initially when there was a vacancy either the sergeant was on leave or whatever and someone had to act up the first person they went to was the senior man on shift even though he wasn't qualified and I was. He was a real prat.

I went to the acting Inspector and I basically, well , I complained. He said "ah, he's going to sit his exams, you should give him credit for that" and I said "Balls, I'm qualified" so anyway I won my case and I became custody officer.

I thought, "Well, what the dickens am I to do here?" I'd got a man who ranked higher than me dealing in a way that I would tell a probationer not to. So foolishly I suppose looking back, I got up and stood between this chap and the Inspector.

I could see the Inspector was rather annoyed at me standing between them and to my absolute amazement this chap wouldn't hit a woman. He sat down and said "No, no love I may be low but I'm not that low ....I wants him".

As far as assaulting police officers are concerned a lot of it has to do with the way people are dealt with in the first place.

I insisted I speak to him alone because there were others about at the time and I gently and firmly explained to him her side of the story should she complain to me that the Chief Instructor was paying particular attention to her pubic region and what would he feel? And he then immediately backed down.

A lot of policework is mundane, events I suppose account for 10% of policing.

I've felt very disappointed when I've seen the way some police officers deal with members of the public.

I don't tend to share my feelings with colleagues at all, saving them to go home and sharing them with my husband as he's a police officer so it's human nature that we both talk about things and we are for each other a release.

I've always felt its true to say that people will promote and hire people in their own image and when you look at promotion boards and when you look at boards to get into the police force they are inevitably men, so I've learned over the years you have to act.

As a woman I don't think you can afford to break down too many barriers, you could become quite vulnerable if you did that.

I've turned up at various calls and been sorry for the complainant because you can see in their eyes that half the time they'd prefer a big chap or a couple of big chaps to sort out their problem and what they've got is a 9 stone policewoman.

The men expect that when their button goes, they expect you to have a safety pin. But where on earth should we carry a safety pin.

All three women inspectors we have were promoted into jobs where they did a 9 to 5 , they weren't needed operationally. They felt perhaps the women weren't up to it. Of course that's not the case.

I had a commendation in court for basically my observation and yes that patted me on the back as well. That is sadly lacking.

I was given a beat I had to walk alone. I didn't like it but there was no way I was going to admit it.

I did it because I wanted to prove that I could damn well do it just as well as the others and I fond out as the years went on that I was probably the only one walking at that particular time because my colleagues would be in a pub somewhere drinking.

After 3 months I'd learned everything and I didn't enjoy what I was doing, I found the work very boring and I resented it.

You were doing the same thing day in, day out. It was making me ill, I was smoking 60 a day and I came out in eczema and I was losing weight and I just couldn't handle it. I put a report in and went to see my boss ... and back to uniform.

To be honest I get under stress, I'm not ashamed to admit it but there are other officers who are under stress and won't admit it.

To me being in the police is being in uniform, out in the street, helping people and yes we book people as well for doing wrong

I was on my own and because I was a woman they tried to take advantage and the number of times I've laid the law down and an argument has developed and the Customs have had to come and help me.

I enjoy my work, I get satisfaction out of knowing I've helped someone and especially when that someone has written in a letter saying "Thank you to the police officer".

I don't want that responsibility of being a sergeant, I feel I've got enough responsibility as it is.

I think they are encouraging more women now. It depends on ... some bosses like women to go up others don't. It depends who your boss is.

That would be the line of work I would like, dealing with sexual offences but the whole force not just locally, any sexual offence, child abuse , rape or something like that, to be a unit working together which would respond to each one.

Out of the job he was fine but when I was working with him I witnessed him assault people to antagonise them and I don't do that myself

From that a big complaint started two policemen complained and I was brought into it because I was the one who shouted out because in all honesty I don't think I would have complained, I would just have refused to work with him.

If they don't like you and you do something wrong they'll be quick enough to pick up on it, but if you do something good you're hardly ever praised.

I did apply at one time to the Bermuda police, 2 of the boys applied and they had application forms back and I had a letter saying they did not accept foreign female Applicants and I walked round thinking "I'm not foreign".

Sometimes a policewoman in a fight situation actually calms the situation.

A woman witness said " I could see the policewoman in the thick of it, she was brave sorting it out and there were two policemen there standing and watching her" which was right but what she didn't know was these boys, they were talking to me and having a laugh and a joke but I felt that if those policemen had spoken to them it would have been different.

I sit on the benches with the old men and chat and talk because they know a lot.

This year I've been assaulted twice and its the first time I've been assaulted. I'm still receiving treatment.

There were comments passed afterwards "You shouldn't have got out of the car" and I said "Well how can you say that, I'm getting paid the same as the men " "Ah but you're a woman" they said.

I think about things far more now, is there a way of getting out of it, is there a way of getting around things, can I sort it out in a better way? Not just going in, the law's the law, book them, wham, bam, thank you.

There's another policewoman in T now, she doesn't like children, she's not maternal at all.

I was told in work "You've got to break the strings" but it's very, very difficult when you're involved with someone, especially a rape.

There used to be one like that here, I don't think she booked anyone the whole time she was here, so she just sits there looking pretty and the sergeant wasn't any help because he thought policewomen were there to make the office look nice.

When I first joined the sergeant wouldn't let me out of the station for 3 months, then I was let out for a day and I booked 6 people on that one day.

He (probationer constable) could not take orders from a women.

I always, when I'm working with a married policeman, make sure I get to know his wife.

It really is very disappointing when they get off with it and you know that you've got to go back then and speak to the victim's family and try to convince them that it was the jury or whatever, not anything they said.

They're never going to forget us so why should we forget them.

I am the only woman in the department and I work with 18 men, Individually they are all very good but as a group they put up this hard image.

Since I've had my own family I find it far more difficult and I can relate to the circumstances as a mother as well as a police officer.

They aren't prepared to show it, being upset, and I think this is the big difference between men and women.

I think deep down men would rather go out there and deal with a bloke who's armed with a gun trying to shoot anybody than go to a woman who has found her baby dead.

If I have something unpleasant to do I want to do it in my own way and in my own time.

I would hate to know that each and every single day I would be interviewing children about battering or indecency or that sort of thing. I mean you've got to have A break or you really would go round the bend.

Boys are so mush easier to interview than little girls, they are far more open.

This woman who didn't have any money on her had gone in and stolen food and I felt so terribly sorry that she couldn't even afford food especially it being Christmas.

I had three hangings in a week and I'd come back feeling upset and have all the boys cracking jokes and I used to think "Why don't you all grow up and shut up", you know but because they are a group, not one of them would do it individually.

To be honest I think they get worse, men, as they get older,.. I think women become far more aware as they get older and far more serious, but men revert.

I used to get angry with women who stuck by the husband, and then for a number of years I've thought "Well, sometimes I can understand, because the husband goes out to work, the mum is stuck at home with a house full of kids, totally

dependent on the husband".

I don't like going away (on a course) , I didn't want to leave for three weeks, but at the end of it I did realise that I had gone rusty on certain aspects of the law.

still not much good at accidents, deciding who to blame.

You've got about half a dozen horrible cases on the go, one after the other and you think "Oh God, I just can't take any more listening to this filth!".

I thought the job was out there on the street, dealing with the public, speaking to people, that's what I joined for, well of course it was inside on this computer and it just wasn't me.

I charged him with every offence I could think of

I thought it was particularly good result because it was 2 years service and getting involved in something like that but when the file was sent back to me it had on there "This girl ought to be in CID".

There were 5 people sent down from T for promotion boards and the other boys all got their white papers all except for me. I was disappointed but I would never have shown them for one minute.

I just broke down in the car and this policeman, I just couldn't believe what he was like. Policemen have a tendency to talk about other people but this particular policeman listened and said "Have a good cry , I won't say anything".

I would trust a female more in the job but I prefer to work with men.

I said "I'm not doing it, that is a job for cleaners not police officers" and the sergeant said "I've given you an order, now get and sweep that floor" and there were all the boys just standing there looking and I feel humiliated but they know it, they know what he's like, so I said "No, I'm not doing it".

It was embarrassment more than anything, and pride, it hurt my pride, the fact that I couldn't catch them despite running after them.

I've been on a few outings lately with the boys and they all say to me that when I came over here I had a bit of a chip on my shoulder.

I wanted to prove myself because I felt I wasn't wanted here, I wanted to show that I could do the job standing on my head as good as anybody else, despite the fact that I only had 3 years in the job.

I got assaulted up in P (housing estate) , the only reason I got assaulted there was because I was trying to prove myself and I was going to every call and I was the first officer on the scene, and as a result I was assaulted.

It was a call you shouldn't attend really, but I thought "Oh, I'll go I might get a prisoner out of it.

I get excited about it all. Especially if its to do with old people or detecting something that wouldn't normally be detected.

I always put one hundred percent into it mind, I got married and it comes second.

Its very long hours and he has his grumps when I go home sometimes but I say "Well you knew what it entailed before I went in there".

I just couldn't believe it and I thought to myself that all that work I had done the week before , all the statements I'd taken were a waste of time. He just could have admitted the one, had all the others TIC'd and there would have been no paperwork.

The public want a service from us.

I would do this for the rest of my life if I could, But they obviously move you after a while.

We eventually had to withdraw everything and you're getting problems from everywhere, not just your witnessed, you get problems from your bosses who are saying "You've put all this time into it and its wasted" so you get flack from all sides.

They all want it done easily, they all hope that you just have a quick phone call and the big result is going to be there

When you do the same thing every single day you get a bit lax I think

We see more of each other than we do of our families.

Most of the blokes I work with have only got police colleagues as friends. I mean they have a couple of friends but not a big group because they spend so many hours in work that they don't make other friends or haven't kept them rather.

many times I've arranged to see them at 9 o'clock and I've just phoned them and I can't get away and it is difficult but they understand that now.

I do feel that you should have more training in self defence especially in today's world.

If it's a big guy you wouldn't have a hope really, you see you could grip them and all the rest of it but you wouldn't have a hope if it was just one to one. You've got to rely on talking to them.

You don't want to ask for advice because then they might start to thinking "Oh, she's hopeless, she can't do it for herself".

Well, when you think of arresting people , well you know they've committed a crime, they're bad, they're villains but I was surprised to find that the night before you arrest someone for a public order offence and the next day this officer would be chatting away to him in the street.

It's always good to know but when you actually get involved in a situation, its always nice to say "Oh yes I've got a yellow belt and I can do the moves" , there's no way you're going to do it in practice. I couldn't maybe some of the men could.

When there's someone else there you're both sort of at it but when you're on your own you feel more proud of yourself.

So you just sit down and you can spend hours with them but as long as they leave the station happy that's all that matters.

Sometimes you don't have time to follow up

You do tend to find that you are like a close knit family and you know everyone well on all the shifts.

I don't really know any other policewomen in the force; I don't mind being the only women.

To be honest I prefer being in uniform, being out there with the public, walking around, I mean you can deal with so many different things.

Appendix E

Statements assigned to each category

Category 1: Caring - Enforcement

The average detective or the average bobby on the beat has nothing to do with these people, he doesn't have the knowledge (talking about legal administrative requirements)

You'd go and sit and talk and think "Why am I doing this? The parents should solve this problem"

That was when I first realised that being a police officer, just because you are, they still don't take a lot of notice of you

You know you're going to be wasting your time with some juveniles but you still do it just in case

I ask myself why I am putting that victim through it all, why am I wasting my time trying to get the offender and then at the end of the day they walk away.

There's none there, noone comes up other than the officer in the case to tell the victim what has happened and why its all happened and what went wrong

You can't win because you either haven't done enough to satisfy the complainant and you get "you should have arrested someone, I know who did it" or you do go and arrest someone and nothing happens, OK they get found guilty, but some villain you know has done a series of breakins, he gets so many cases and they're all tried on the same day and they give him community service.

I think the punishments got to fit, not just the crime but the person who committed that crime and I don't think that always happens

We can't play the social worker as much as we'd like to

The policewoman that was in the case they say should keep contact with the victim but how much or how long or how often is difficult...

Every time they see you they're reminded of the case. You don't want then to feel that you've neglected them but you want them to know you're there

Totally horrendous for the girl and no-one's thinking about her and I'm trying to say to the lawyers, you know "Let's think about her"

As I said before about the punishment fitting the crime, none of us wanted , er , and we were trying our best not for her to go to prison. Because she didn't deserve to go to prison, so you were trying to achieve the best all round. You had to solve the crime, she had to be absolved of her complicity of what she'd done.

You don't get any pressure on you at all up here (in C.I.D.). Especially with the females up here you do a lot with children, a lot of females problems ...you can take as much time as you want to talk to people.

If I were to deal with them (rape victim) more often on a regular basis then it would be just like a production line but then, its not fair to the person you are talking to, to sort of break them off quickly.

The essential information, it is very difficult to drag out of them (rape victims) because its an experience I wouldn't like to go through

You can submit it and do it all perfectly right and then in a week's time it will be No Further Action written across it and the person you dealt with is walking around laughing their head off. It a joke, you spend all those hours putting the paperwork together and it doesn't go anywhere.

I feel sorry sometimes for the one-off people that commit crimes because sometimes it's for money or sometimes there are sicknesses and disorders, fair enough.

Its unfortunate but its bad these days, they go to a crime and just make a few notes on a piece of paper "Burglary at this address" say "culprit gains entry through window, stole silverware" and that's the end, they'll just circulate that and expect someone to do something about it.

When I first started I thought "Well, let's give them all a chance" I never believed in the capital punishment, never. I thought it was a terrible thing but I'm getting to the stage now where I totally believe in it.

You know just because they've got convictions doesn't mean they're bad people

You feel so sorry for them and at that time you don't want to be a police officer, you don't want to lock them up , you'd much prefer to help them in other ways but you can't because that is your job, it's what you get paid for and it isn't the sort of person that perhaps you are.

As far as I'm concerned there's a lot of social work involved in the police force and its certainly about that. It's certainly about helping people as much as you can which is the stupid reason I joined in the first place, thinking I was going to be helping people.

All I wanted to do was to help the public but now as the years have gone by I've realised you can't be the social worker, the lifesaver, the someone who extinguishes fires, basically the job is to detect and prevent crime

Yes, I've almost at some stages because I'm a woman become a social worker as well.

Its up to the public to decide what kind of people they want; do they want us to be just out catching criminals or do they still want that "Hello" officer, how are you, I wonder if you could help me".

I just stood there and so of course my first booking was a bit of a disaster but I can remember it because I didn't really want to book the people because they were two young lads who had made a genuine mistake and I felt sorry for them which I wasn't supposed to do.

If someone's been raped or interfered with they don't want a 6 foot, hairy

policeman as they describe them. They do relate to you more.

I managed to handcuff him and I don't know how but not before he kicked me in the shins, headbutted my colleague, split his lip, we were spinning round the room and it was a hell of a state, of course you are 10 or 15 minutes from help, that's why you've got to learn to speak before you, you've got to try to talk your way out of it.

I just didn't want to be there really , I would have loved to have.. all I wanted to do was punch him in the face. That's all I wanted to do. I wasn't a police officer, I didn't want to be a police officer. I felt like crying because I'd seen her and wasted all my time talking to her, thinking I could help her, get social services, try to make her happy, and I saw this pervert and.. I've never felt like hitting anyone so much.

You have to be professional and ask all these questions and you knew you were getting barefaced lies, and if it had been someone on the street you'd give them a punch and a shake and sort them out, but you couldn't with him.

I don't like blood but I'd be the first to help someone, you know I know my job and I'd overcome that fear for that.

If I've got to lock someone up then I will do, but I would certainly rather help people which is what the police are there for.

I get really annoyed with the attitude of putting the kiddie back in the family unit only to find out that the next time you're on duty on nights or weekends we get the same call.

We see things differently, our idea is law enforcement. That's what we're trained to do isn't it? We're not trained to look at the wider horizons.

Ultimately that's what police do isn't it, go for prosecutions; Social Services rarely go for prosecutions

When you generally look across the board at the police and what they do, well I mean, their idea of the public is what they deal with , it's a low life the strata they come across.

They're (recruits) either very idealistic and that gets knocked out of them quite soon or they're already quite cynical.

I always remember when I went to M station I thought the object of the exercise was to catch the villain by fair means or foul, bang them up, put them in court, thank you very much and that was a cop, that was my impression

I couldn't understand that you were supposed to be truthful.

If I'm in charge and its an iffy kind of thing then my view is "You'll do as I tell you to do"

The other day I was duty sergeant here and X telephoned (large town some 80 miles distant) and they wanted a WPC and they hadn't got one between here and X to deal with a child abuse.

And you have to realise that if you haven't experienced what that person is going through its no use saying to them "Oh I know how you feel" because you don't know, you've no chance of knowing how they feel at all.

I've always enjoyed the..how do you say it.. the non-booking aspects of the job. I get more satisfaction out of that.

She stole some clothes from Mothercare, now I could understand that and I was able to get hold of her doctor and you know we tied the ends up nicely so I didn't feel she was persecuted and she got the help she needed. In fact they cautioned her in the end which was even better and although she was caught and I had to deal with her I felt that we were dealing with it in the right way and that's the type of thing I enjoy.

There I was in front of this woman who'd been raped and her mother and I'm saying "Oh sorry" you know, "I've just got to read this" and I didn't have a clue, I mean I cocked it up.

They don't tend to call people out off duty for that, they'll send miles for someone who's on duty, rather than phone up a woman who's been trained. I don't know how other women feel about that but I certainly wouldn't mind being called in off duty to deal with something like that.

Men can't empathise in the same way. I mean always I think, the woman has got to think "Oh this could be me" and that could be my complaint that goes down the Swannee because someone hasn't done the job properly.

At one point I was toying with the idea of going to see her off duty, you know, to see if she wanted to come out shopping or something and I thought "Hang on, what are you getting into here? Should you be doing this?" because professionally I had nothing to offer her.

I phoned the team leader but it was very difficult to do that. I felt I was poking my nose into something I didn't know anything about and I'm not sure I'd have liked it if a social worker had phoned my inspector and said "Look we're not happy with the way your PC T is dealing with this".

You are judged by how many arrests you get rather than how much of a service you actually provide and I think that's wrong.

The problems the police force have got at the moment would be resolved to a large extent by highlighting the service side of it

I remember the first day I went out and I just thought "God help the poor bugger who comes along ... because he's mine".

Basically that's what community policing is about, you know, to be there. But I'm so far away from the area.

I'm not so criminally minded and a lot of police I find have got to be criminally minded to think and realise how these criminals act. Which isn't in my nature so I'd never be any good at CID.

I wouldn't fit into another job. If I do finish in the police force I would never do anything else. I'd do voluntary work but I would never work for somebody else.

No two domestics are ever the same. Sometimes you go there and its all quietened down by the time you get there and then they see you and they want to take it out on you.

It takes a great deal now to probably excite me and you probably become used to dealing with most incidents.

There's nothing wrong with the way they've been brought up . Its their choice and they choose to do that. Burglars choose to go burgling houses.

People, I call them do-gooders, if they knew the reality, you get boys of 15 into the police station, you know you nick them and they're telling you how to fill in the forms and "oh yeah" you know, "You've forgotten this bit" and they know their CRO number and I sometimes despair of that.

I always think to myself they will grow up. They do most of them do , even thieves you know, you come across really nice people.

They were going to use her as a prosecution witness because how else .. all the people in that kind of society ,you know, they're committing offences all the time. You'd never get any prosecution witnesses would you?

To me being in the police is being in uniform, out in the street, helping people and yes we book people as well for doing wrong

I sit on the benches with the old men and chat and talk because they know a lot.

I think about things far more now, is there a way of getting out of it, is there a way of getting around things, can I sort it out in a better way? Not just going in, the law's the law, book them, wham, bam, thank you.

There's another policewoman in T now, she doesn't like children, she's not maternal at all.

I was told in work "You've got to break the strings" but it's very, very difficult when you're involved with someone, especially a rape.

It really is very disappointing when they get off with it and you know that you've got to go back then and speak to the victim's family and try to convince them that it was the jury or whatever, not anything they said.

They're never going to forget us so why should we forget them.

Since I've had my own family I find it far more difficult and I can relate to the circumstances as a mother as well as a police officer.

They aren't prepared to show it, being upset, and I think this is the big difference between men and women.

I think deep down men would rather go out there and deal with a bloke who's armed with a gun trying to shoot anybody than go to a woman who has found her

baby dead.

Boys are so mush easier to interview than little girls, they are far more open.

This woman who didn't have any money on her had gone in and stolen food and I felt so terribly sorry that she couldn't even afford food especially it being Christmas.

I used to get angry with women who stuck by the husband, and then for a number of years I've thought "Well, sometimes I can understand, because the husband goes out to work, the mum is stuck at home with a house full of kids, totally dependent on the husband".

I'm still not much good at accidents, deciding who to blame.

Well, when you think of arresting people , well you know they've committed a crime, they're bad, they're villains but I was surprised to find that the night before you arrest someone for a public order offence and the next day this officer would be chatting away to him in the street.

So you just sit down and you can spend hours with them but as long as they leave the station happy that's all that matters.

Sometimes you don't have time to follow up

Category 2: Personal relationships - Work relationships

I wanted to stay because I wanted to get involved, I would have stayed all night but I had this appointment

You can't unwind with people who don't know what you're talking about, you don't have to spell it all out to colleagues so its easier

I mean psychologists and everyone else will tell you that having a drink isn't a good way to unwind but I mean we find it is. That's it.

I have to switch off totally, to walk in and sit and listen about cousin so and so's O-levels "Oh isn't it wonderful!" or someone's new dress and this and that and all I really want to do is scream

I don't talk to people about work only other police officers

You can still be feminine OK, you've got a uniform on and you want to look feminine, fair enough but I mean there's overdoing it. Let's draw the line somewhere

Well it all depends on what situations are going on at the time - if there was nothing in the air when your term had finished in this department you'd go straight back downstairs.

I don't mind being given a week's notice, saying "next week we're going to be working a week of evenings" but I can't accept just at the drop of a hat "Yes, you will be doing this, that and the other".

They show you no consideration whatsoever.

If I were days today and Simon was days, we know that tonight we will have the evening together to do what we want and if my sergeant said to me know "you're on till 12 o'clock" I just would not be impressed one little bit.

I would have to back down because he is my sergeant and I am being instructed to do it.

It's a single person's job I think. I was quite happy when I was single..

If I had to work overtime I was probably quite happy to do it because it meant extra money for a start anyway.

If you're married to a policeman and he's working shifts as well, it can be very difficult.

You can't really shout at them its just the system, the way they do it, they don't consider you , your social life is not considered at all.

What you find is that they (policemen) talk shop, they talk the job, they eat, live and sleep the job and once I leave this office I can assure you I don't think about the job for one minute.

Its very difficult being a woman because they are so careful with their wives. They tell their wives nothing about your existence.

They're there with bated breath waiting for you to come and tell them everything and you are just desperately trying to do your job so carefully and do it the proper way, you just get overawed by it all.

I knew how to handle that but if it had been someone younger than me - my God how can someone with little experience cope with a senior officer saying such a thing..

The attitude to a lot of policewomen is that if she sleeps with one of the policemen she's referred to as the station bike, if she doesn't, a few of them have tried it and she doesn't, she must be a lesbian. You know, if you're happily married they can just about accept it.

Maybe it would have been easier if there was a woman in a supervisory role who might be able to understand without asking questions especially when you can see a relationship coming to an end

Whereas maybe a woman would've said "do you fancy going to the cafe" or "would you fancy going for a drink" the men just gave me plenty of space, left me alone a lot.

Initially work was in itself causing a problem because I couldn't cope with it but at the end it was my salvation.

It is difficult to tell friends the truth which is, outdoors it is a piece of cake, its easy; everything, although they are different, is treated exactly the same.

You work ridiculously long hours, any social plans are out of the window, and at the drop of a hat the phone goes or the boss approaches you and puff! you do it and you know you won't get paid for that because the purse will only allow you so many hours overtime and you are well past that.

very happy where I am at the moment and I like the working relationship I've got with the boys that are there

I feel close to colleagues when we get to a traffic accident, but that's , although its not forced and false its not a natural closeness, it's a tragedy that's brought you together and it isn't something that continues, a permanent closeness I think develops with the years.

That sounds dreadful as though I am manipulative - I know how to handle him

I don't know whether it comes from a man-management course or whether it comes from his heart but it counts, he does notice; even when I lost weight he said "Gosh, you've lost weight" just little things like that, yes, I like him.

I don't like arguing and petty bitching; in school I was always hanging around with the boys. I always got on better, er, all my friends are males now. Maybe that's why the job appealed to me in some respectes because it was men and not many women because I don't like all the bitchiness really.

The only thing that kept me going was thinking, "Well, surely they don't treat you like this in a station, because the drill sergeants were treating you as if you were a piece of shit.

I walked to the door and my Mum said "Oh my God, .." you know. They said "what happened to you?" I said "I got hit on the lip". I could hardly talk and they were laughing at me then but Mum was really worried.

Superintendents in this new ideal are managers not policemen, that's the idea, managers of their budget, managers of this and that.

We've got some awfully dull people in the police force, we've got some good ones but we've got some thick ones

My husband is a policeman and he's got this rule that you can only speak in our house about 20 minutes of police and that's it.

If I'm in charge and its an iffy kind of thing then my view is "You'll do as I tell you to do"

I eventually went to the Chief Superintendent and said "Look do you think I could possibly have some easy shifts", meaning day shifts, explained the reason about my husband being ill and having the new baby etc. etc. and I was told that my job came before my home and family, and no help was given whatsoever.

I was qualified to sergeant, although I was a WPC and I was also a qualified Instructor, you know training at the training school. So that was two things they were losing, just because they wouldn't play ball until I was sorted out.

Men haven't got the same priorities as women. My home is as important as my job to me and I try to run both properly.

We try and have a light-hearted relationship, so there is fun but the work is still done and its done properly and I like to think that if I'm on duty everybody feels happy .

I don't want to do a course. Its being away from home. It was nice when I was single but not now.

I don't think enough consideration is given to the fact that yes a woman very often wants a career but she also wants a family.

We ought to have people in personnel who are aware of the problems , who realise that yes, OK, you've got a very efficient, capable, effective policewoman here but she's got a young child and the child's got measles and wants Mummy - can't we see our way clear to allowing her or the father for that matter to have a few days?

Yes they'll take on a man with a family because he's regarded as steady but in terms of a female with a family....

An afternoon that finishes at 10 is the hardest to unwind from, I get home at 10.30 and my husband is ready to hit the sack then and I'm just at a loose end, I just don't know how to unwind. I end up perhaps watching tele for a couple of hours and have a drink. It's difficult.

I know that friends have changed towards me , well they keep it quiet for a long time and eventually it came out that they'd been discussing me and saying how I'd changed and I tried to do something about that.

I don't particularly like being sent on courses. I don't like being away from home so I don't.

I had a birthday party for my birthday, you know I came in for supper one night and there was a birthday cake and spaghetti bolognese and a bottle of wine which I didn't know anything about and valentines day there was a rose and a card. They are friendly sort of boys.

Trouble is all I do is eat, sleep and come to work. I don't have any social life.

Well, it's not a job where you normally have a close relationship with somebody.

We were left to look after the shift all the time by ourselves and then we'd play cards, playing cards you know its nice to sort of come in and sit down and take your mind completely off police work.

I don't tend to share my feelings with colleagues at all, saving them to go home and sharing them with my husband as he's a police officer so it's human nature that we both talk about things and we are for each other a release.

I always, when I'm working with a married policeman, make sure I get to know his wife.

I don't like going away (on a course) , I didn't want to leave for three weeks, but at the end of it I did realise that I had gone rusty on certain aspects of the law.

I would trust a female more in the job but I prefer to work with men.

I always put one hundred percent into it mind, I got married and it comes second.

Its very long hours and he has his grumps when I go home sometimes but I say "Well you knew what it entailed before I went in there".

We see more of each other than we do of our families.

Most of the blokes I work with have only got police colleagues as friends. I mean they have a couple of friends but not a big group because they spend so many hours in work that they don't make other friends or haven't kept them rather.

many times I've arranged to see them at 9 o'clock and I've just phoned them and I can't get away and it is difficult but they understand that now.

You do tend to find that you are like a close knit family and you know everyone well on all the shifts.

Category 3: Public Duty - Duty to Colleagues

With some of the bad press we can't speak out and say the real reasons behind something, we've just got to put up with it, we can't come out and say "this isn't right"

I don't want anyone else to clear up what I've started

You learn very early on and you forget how much you've adapted

Early on you don't know the system so you can't change it and by the time you've worked out what the system is you've become part of it

You've got a prisoner there and you're trying to talk to someone and they come in and start shouting remarks or talking about what they did last night, I mean just being unprofessional in front of people, that annoys me (talking about male officers)

The policemen these days have got that uniform on and a hat on their head and away they go. Straight up the high street, they don't talk to a soul

They love that uniform and they use it for their own benefit which I don't think helps the public at all.

You never get your real opportunity and you know that if you speak out you're either going to be moved or something is going to be done.

I thought "I'm sick of this " because I had work to do so I rang the switchboard and got the girl on the switchboard to ring the Special Branch office and say a DCI from another division was on the way up the stairs to investigate a matter. I

waited by the phone and there was a scattering of everyone running..

I despaired every time I was on duty with him, quite frankly. Because he has got the most terrible manner when he speaks to people. He speaks to people as though they're sub-human beings

He was always getting complaints made against him and then you would be dragged in to his complaint and then you would be feeling very uncomfortable.

To be honest with you I'm absolutely fed up with the police force at the moment. Really fed up because of the attitude of so many policemen

If I was a member of the public I would have made a complaint against him but I didn't feel I could do that because I'm a police officer

That's definitely the most frustrating and anger-producing, not being outside dealing with the public, but being inside dealing with the problems involving immediate colleagues and bosses.

They ring up and they're so abusive because you haven't sent anybody and I mean you've got burglaries and God knows what outstanding, and you haven't got anyone to go and yet these people with abandoned cars which is a favourite you know, "Well why haven't you sent anyone to check this car"

When I joined it was them (the public) and us. Now its us, seniors, complaints and discipline department and them.

Well, I mean, I haven't been in may pursuits but once the adrenaline is flowing you've got this silly woman or man on the end of the radio saying "Why are you pursuing this vehicle. What are road conditions" and the poor driver is trying to drive, probably at high speed 'cos you don't get many low speed pursuits, he's trying to be aware of the public, the road and he's got this silly woman prattling in his ear, but HQ say they have to be asked these questions.

That's all they're (senior officers) concerned about "We told him to stop and its on the incident record"

I shudder when I hear the way some people I work with, the way they speak to the public, the way they speak on the radio, you know it's amazing they don't have complaints every day.

fed up with covering for these people who are out doing something that perhaps they shouldn't be doing and they haven't told the people at home and I'm trying to cover for them.

You get policemen exercising powers of arrest they haven't got. You know someone brought a university lecturer in one day for dropping a Mars bar wrapper and I just looked at him and I said "Was he swearing, the lecturer?" ..."No Serg." "Did he say anything?" ... "No Serg." and you can't say to a PC with a prisoner ...that's the last thing you can say, "You haven't got the power of arrest" you can't do it.

What I consider a good result the public might not, its a personal thing.

With sergeants and ranks above, there's a lack of awareness really, realising that things have to be done and seen to and you've got to give time for it. And you don't have to be macho .

On the odd occasion when perhaps I haven't felt that we have dealt with something in the right way and I felt like siding with the other side.

There's still no set procedure for dealing with domestic violence. The unspoken rule is that unless you are absolutely sure that the woman is going to make a complaint and go to court, you just get rid of it. Now I believe that if there is an assault taking place - you pursue it regardless of what the complainant says but it doesn't happen in practice, it just doesn't and I just think it's ridiculous.

They think too much in terms of results. They think of ten hours paperwork for someone to make a withdrawal when it comes to the court date.

I won't shut up about racist remarks

Well you see the stupid thing is that they'll say things in front of each other and then when I'm on my own with them I'll say "God you looked really uncomfortable when so and so said something" and they'll say "Yeah, I'm not really racist and I don't like to hear it" well why the hell go and laugh then, why the hell do men do it?

very often I feel that I should speak out but I don't and very often when I do speak out I find I've made the wrong decision and that I shouldn't have spoken out, not because I'm wrong but because I get trouble.

Its the way colleagues deal with the public, a few have been very very arrogant. It's not a job that requires you to be rude to people but also next week they might be wanting a member of the public to help them and what that member of the public will remember is that someone in uniform was mouthy to them.

There's always certain police officers that go out regularly on a Saturday night and get assaulted or regularly rub somebody up the wrong way and starts a fight.

There were only two white people in the church, that was myself and the ethnic affairs officer.

Now I came from there, from his office, in total trepidation because in general policing terms writing an annual report has got nothing whatsoever as I saw it to do with policing.

They get into a habit of putting things first on paper and then putting it into their pocket books. that's how they're taught.

He's an intelligent bloke, the sergeant, but to my mind he uses the job. He goes off while he's on duty, shoots off and does his own thing.

This sergeant, the boys were hiding from him because he wanted to have a beer and they wanted to do their job because times have changed. This guy hasn't changed you know.

not afraid to say "oh, I'm not doing that" you know "I don't believe that's right and

I'm not doing it" .

The sort of thing I despair about is that people are left in the job like that sergeant.

I think basically that it was the money that changed the calibre of the recruits.

You go into houses in my area and you wipe your feet before you go in and you wipe your feet when you come out.

She was admitting offences, but having been in CID so long, I knew they would prefer to have a witness statement off her rather than start to caution her and making her uptight and whatever and so I took it as a witness statement.

They do deals with the defence and the prosecution , they deal and cross out what they don't want the court to hear.

I've always felt that the police force was a professional body and I have been shocked when I've met colleagues who haven't wanted to do this, or perhaps they've been in the pub drinking when they should have been on patrol

I seemed to be making more of an effort than were my colleagues to go out and find work and because I was out there and they were inside playing cards, I came across things.

I thought, "Well, what the dickens am I to do here?" I'd got a man who ranked higher than me dealing in a way that I would tell a probationer not to. So foolishly I suppose looking back, I got up and stood between this chap and the Inspector.

I could see the Inspector was rather annoyed at me standing between them and to my absolute amazement this chap wouldn't hit a woman. He sat down and said "No, no love I may be low but I'm not that low ....I wants him".

As far as assaulting police officers are concerned a lot of it has to do with the way people are dealt with in the first place.

I've felt very disappointed when I've seen the way some police officers deal with members of the public.

Out of the job he was fine but when I was working with him I witnessed him assault people to antagonise them and I don't do that myself

From that a big complaint started two policemen complained and I was brought into it because I was the one who shouted out because in all honesty I don't think I would have complained, I would just have refused to work with him.

The public want a service from us.

I do feel that you should have more training in self defence especially in todays world.

Category 4: Loneliness - Acceptance

Although I was only a PC then because they knew I knew how to do it I was sent there and I had to tell the Chief Inspector and Inspectors what to do, but after that they made sure they found out what to do.

I don't get afraid walking around on my own or walking down a dark lane. I'm more afraid of making a fool of myself on an interview or on a Board or in court

I knew why I wanted to do it, I had all the answers but getting in that box, I felt very much alone

I've got a very good boss but he does delegate and he says "Right, here's an armed robbery, it's down to you" and then I find out that my little team of two , one's in court and one's off doing something else and yes, I am physically alone trying to solve it or trying to do what I've got to do.

It always seems to me that I end up being the one doing it on my own

That was when I first realised that being a police officer, just because you are, they still don't take a lot of notice of you

Early on you don't know the system so you can't change it and by the time you've worked out what the system is you've become part of it

If you wanted to tell me what a police way is now, I'm probably so immersed in it that I don't really know what police ways are any more, if you know what I mean

You can't unwind with people who don't know what you're talking about, you don't have to spell it all out to colleagues so its easier

Since the policewoman's department has gone and the women come under the men, the men don't seem to be able to tell policewomen off about dress

Policewomen get assaulted now just as many times as policemen and its from people who know just who they are, there's no mistake

There's no respect there at all, its all gone, completely gone.

I said it would be ideal to have something up here - and the senior officers said "no"

They never ask women why they want to leave, we just go, they don't really care, they have no interest whatsoever in our reasons for leaving, they just want something convenient to put on the form and they write us off as being neurotic.

When I was first promoted I went to a station where they had two women constables. Suddenly they had a woman superintendent and a woman sergeant. They'd never had a woman supervisory rank before, a predominantly male station, no question, and the girls they had sort of made the tea and answered the phone and suddenly they had me and this was not appreciated.

I was being treated with great caution and even the inspector I had, it was a great problem, the things he called me, oh the way he acted, it was really bad news.

I managed to get this bloke in And from then on I was the praise of the place. "Wonderful, there's nothing wrong with women sergeants" simply because this was a well known criminal who was wanted anyway.

The time I felt most alone, that was nothing to do with the male-female thing, it's just that I was doing a job , a sort of undercover job..

I had to go and see her husband and I went on my own and there was no problem until he took his trousers off in front of me and I said "Oh my God" and I didn't have a radio and then I thought "That radio makes all the difference, that's your lifeline" and I didn't have that and I was very much alone but I talked him out of it.

When I first went to CID they sort of had a woman just because they had to have one really. They had to have a woman and she was useful for sitting with women prisoners.

I had to struggle to try to prove I was capable of doing the job, its still like that to some extent.

If I wanted to go to a burglary "Oh no one of the boys can go" "You can do this you can't do that" you know "You can go to the chip shop and get the chips". When that chap was there I felt alone then because the boys thought it was a big joke.

He's a pig of a man and he came in absolutely delighted that B (male officer) had arrested this chap. I said "He didn't sir, I did, he's my prisoner" "You did?" and his exact words were "You can't fucking arrest a man". I said "Well I'm awfully sorry sir but I just did". "You can't do that" "Why not?" "Because you are a woman, don't you know you're a woman?" So I said "I've done all the work Sir.." "I don't care what you've done" and he starts banging on the desk and swearing.

He said" You've got to understand you can't go round acting like a man"

Well in the end you know I didn't have much confidence .. just not letting me do anything

a good policewoman now but I wasn't at one time and its no thanks to him that I got any experience because you know if he'd continued to be my senior officer I would never have had any

In the police we develop instant experts on many subjects. If you take an interest in something or you go on a course, you're an expert on it. It is terrible.

I had to waffle my head off for ten minutes and all that time I was thinking "I wish I'd been on a course. At least I'd have some idea"

You get sexual harassment obviously and I know how to cope with that after all these years but it was difficult when I was younger,

Maybe he (the Chief Constable) wouldn't have come to see a man.

It does help females as a whole to know that they are not just there to sit down, look pretty, make the tea...

He said "You haven't passed your exams yet have you?" in the middle of the conversation. I said "I don't want to be promoted" "Well I'm telling you if you don't pass your exams by next April then you are going back into uniform". Then he rang me and told me the same thing the next day and that was just because I told him something he didn't like and upset him.

I've very few friends in the police force

You know you could go out with the boys on occasions but sometimes to be accepted you have to be one of the boys. If you can swear - I didn't swear before I joined the police force but I do now.

The attitude to a lot of policewomen is that if she sleeps with one of the policemen she's referred to as the station bike, if she doesn't, a few of them have tried it and she doesn't, she must be a lesbian. You know, if you're happily married they can just about accept it.

It automatically followed that anything the boys termed as griefy landed in my lap which included rapes, indecency, children , that sort of sexual allegation or anything that's over-emotional would be mine, although technically that's not supposed to happen.

He automatically assumed I would know because I was a woman obviously and I thought "I haven't had a course, how the heck should I know?"

I asked if I could have a course when I came back to divisional work and I was told "Well you don't need one of those, you've been a policewoman for years, all you need is common sense, why on earth do you need one?"

What they are assuming will happen is if there's anything like that, it will be allocated to a male who will have a uniformed policewoman to assist him.

I thought if I admit now that I don't know what I'm doing , have already asked for training, so everyone sat round and there was me and we all sat around and chatted and talked about it and I had *tremendous* support.

It would appear sometimes that expenses and overtime are paid out of the bosses pockets; to get what you're entitled to is harder than catching criminals

Everybody who decides what I should do, at one stage or another did what I'm doing now, but they must have very short memories that's all I can say because they seem to forget the problems and the difficulty it is when you're at the bottom of the ladder.

We've sat and discussed something and thought "this is wrong, this isn't working, we ought to do it a different way" and we get an opportunity, maybe a conference, and the boss will say "how do you think we should solve it?" and I think "Here's my chance, shit or bust, I'm going for it" and you speak out and you look behind you and there's noone there.

Then when the jury came in there were about eight or nine females on the jury and I thought "Well there's no way you men are going to speak to me like that again. Because you'll lose credibility with women on the jury surely"

A lot of the boys tend to confide and where I chose not to confide my problems, lots of boys confide theirs, mm and I suppose from being working colleagues they become friends and that makes you close to them. Maybe its because I've been in the job longer, because lots of the girls join the job and within two years they've gone, there's allegations of husband hunters etc..

You get the obvious, "You've met my wife, what do you think she'd like for Christmas" "Will my wife like such and such" or even to the extent of er "Here's some wrapping paper and ribbon - you wrap it, I'll never do it" and they won't either

I think now with the attitude I've got with the boys I work with, if I ever was on trial then it' over and I have passed and they are more accepting now and I hope that doesn't change.

I really hated my whole training, I hated every minute. I put on weight because I was worried and I was eating, worry, feeling self conscious. I didn't particularly get on with any of the girls.

I don't like arguing and petty bitching; in school I was always hanging around with the boys. I always got on better, er, all my friends are males now. Maybe that's why the job appealed to me in some respectes because it was men and not many women because I don't like all the bitchiness really.

The only thing that kept me going was thinking, "Well, surely they don't treat you like this in a station, because the drill sergeants were treating you as if you were a piece of shit.

There was class rivalry (in training) but I didn't let it affect me , that was between the boys really.

be the first to admit, we haven't got the physical strength and whatever any real feminist, extreme feminist says that "Oh you know we can do ..." we can't, we can't do the same job but we have our uses just as men have theirs.

We do come in handy whatever the real pigs of policemen, and there are a few, whatever they like to think, we do have our uses.

I like to think I've got charm and have a joke with the boys and they soon forget and they don't want to hit a poor little policewoman the, because she's so nice to them.

I mean no-one hits a cute little WPC, he did and I was quite shocked because I'd never been hit before.

Maybe the women should get to throw the blocks sometime, we just got bombarded the whole time, we didn't get any revenge, we didn't get a chance to throw any petrol bombs or blocks.

The sergeant made me and the other girl on the shift you know, he used to pick on us and pull us aside but I mean I didn't let him get to me too much, because I mean you've got to look at him at face value and think "What's he doing?" you know "he's scruffy, he smells, he's smoking and drinking himself to death. He won't be here much longer" so I try not to let him affect me because I think I'm doing my

job, whatever he says.

They all ran forward and I just stood swinging my handbag and the support group were the other side of the net saying "get him, get him, get him" and I was saying "There's only me", it was unbelievable. For years after people would say "I saw you at the Portsmouth game, swinging your handbag like a Zulu" and I'd say "I was trying to keep them away from me".

Its a man's world and we've encroached on it.

It wasn't a very serious incident in my opinion and that will teach me to have opinions.

There's enough aggravation now, the public think we're the lowest of the low as it is.

"You felt close to colleagues" - I think its a case of having to be close to them really because noone else wants to be close to you.

I called for the sergeant, they're wonderful things sergeants when you are on probation, they sort of come along and put oil on troubled waters you know, while I was standing there and didn't know quite what to do with this dead body.

Its an organisation that's run mainly by men and its probably a lot of our own fault because we haven't got women at the top.

I don't feel we have got enough facilities, I'll be quite honest and I can understand the girls not joining or staying in. Its not so much facilities at the station its literally the attitude of senior officers.

So they've got a "hooli-van" and a woman isn't allowed on the "hooli-van", but she can walk the street on her own.

The one Inspector in particular , we've had words and I think it stems possibly from me because if he had a woman on the van he hasn't got any excuse for not having me on the van, so it could be from that really. I don't know. It's getting personal now isn't it?

Especially with children, the majority of policewomen haven't got children and you don't just suddenly turn on this miraculous maternal instinct. I say often the men have more experience than I have with children: I've only got one, some of them have three or four.

I think I was the first woman in C division to do an Aide to CID and I think that was the booziest 3 months I have ever spent.

Prior to equality in this force we used to work the same hours as the men but we did have an hour break. I can never understand why make us come down to three-quarters instead of putting themselves up to an hour. Can you understand that? Anything to be bloody minded - make sure the women come down to us .. they could have ended up with an hour's meal break couldn't they?

I've got to the stage now that if I'm by-passed because I'm a female, it's water off a duck's back now because I can't be bothered to fight any longer, I've fought for

long enough and I feel it's up to the younger ones now to take up the candle

Yes they'll take on a man with a family because he's regarded as steady but in terms of a female with a family....

When they're probationers they're learning all the rules and the ideology of the force, and they can't speak out, they can't contradict..

For a long time I was the only female on the shift and I was still trying to keep a low profile, trying to negotiate what my position was and what was expected of me, whether I was going to be seen as too pushy.

I find a lot of people find out and say "I didn't know you were a graduate!" I don't talk about it unless anyone asks me, I don't say it.

There's a kind of thing about having to keep cool you know, you have to pretend it's just run of the mill.

I feel there's less pressure on women to prove themselves in a lot of ways. If we go out for a drink after work or if we go on a session there's no pressure on me to get absolutely paralytically drunk, whereas I feel there is for some of the younger blokes.

When it happened I felt I was looked on in a different way and although I didn't want to feel like it, I felt quite pleased. I mean because I hate physical violence and I had this real war within myself about feeling proud that I had managed to do what was expected of me , when really I should have been feeling "Oh God, that was awful".

Going over the top is not seen as true courage. I think its viewed by a lot of policemen as attack is the best form of defence you know, but if a policeman will go in and attack before it's necessary I think other policemen will think perhaps he is lacking in bottle.

I just feel like saying "Have you any idea what I've had to deal with today and you're worrying about the fact that my hair's down on my collar".

very often I feel that I should speak out but I don't and very often when I do speak out I find I've made the wrong decision and that I shouldn't have spoken out, not because I'm wrong but because I get trouble.

Women haven't got the same sort of physical capabilities as men, yet they've got qualities that a man hasn't got.

I've never got enough time to do what I want to do and I always seem to be snowed under with people, whereas the boys seem to dash theirs off and there's no problem.

I had a birthday party for my birthday, you know I came in for supper one night and there was a birthday cake and spaghetti bolognese and a bottle of wine which I didn't know anything about and valentines day there was a rose and a card. They are friendly sort of boys.

Here I was as the only woman now, the only woman who's just been promoted, the

only woman Superintendent in the force and I was being asked to do something which I really felt perhaps I was out of my depth but certainly wasn't going to admit.

In my particular role I am very much on my own and the buck stops here I suppose.

I instructed officers to form a cone in front of the gate, many of them were now feeling the pressure on their ribs, were starting to lose consciousness and many did not wish to carry out my instructions. So you're now in conflict with your own group.

It is quite terrifying being caught up in the vortex of the crowd, no matter how big or strong you are your feet will lift off the floor and people in large groups will not heed you even if you are there.

You hear people saying " Superintendent from policewoman" but I mean I don't have any difficulty.

The occasion that did cause much comment was when the results came through. They probably thought it was fixed as they usually do, with women I mean, I think comment was probably passed but not by those that know us but those who don't know us.

From a police point of view I have difficulty hiding in a corner because there are so few police women.

They assume that because you are a woman that you are going to be able to deal with children, I mean personally, I'm not a person who particularly enjoys the company of children and yet I can think of male officers here who thrive on it, they can't wait to get the nappies changed.

Certainly male officers tend to think that all women have got the maternal instinct and want to look after all the missing kids and I don't think that's the case.

I mean, policewomen, we are just desperate for them, I mean there are so few and I tended to think, I was a bit naive, I thought perhaps when I came then perhaps I'd give women a better chance but it had no effect whatsoever.

On the Crime Squad, surveillance its the biggest part of your job, especially if you're a woman because you are good cover. You know, I mean a woman, especially as little as I am, you don't look like a police officer.

Something that made me feel lonely was when I first went to Crime Squad was that I really had to come to terms with following people about and being like the Big Brother syndrome. That's something that really worried me and I felt it's something that nobody else can explain.

I had to really think hard about the work I was doing because I was seeing these people, like getting up with them and they didn't know I was there and it frightened me.

I mean we're very private beings aren't we. I wouldn't like everybody to know

what I've been doing all day.

Certainly its important that you must be part of that team as a woman, but I don't think you are ever part of them, really accepted as one of them.

Initially when there was a vacancy either the sergeant was on leave or whatever and someone had to act up the first person they went to was the senior man on shift even though he wasn't qualified and I was. He was a real prat.

I insisted I speak to him alone because there were others about at the time and I gently and firmly explained to him her side of the story should she complain to me that the Chief Instructor was paying particular attention to her pubic region and what would he feel? And he then immediately backed down.

I've always felt its true to say that people will promote and hire people in their own image and when you look at promotion boards and when you look at boards to get into the police force they are inevitably men, so I've learned over the years you have to act.

As a woman I don't think you can afford to break down too many barriers, you could become quite vulnerable if you did that.

I've turned up at various calls and been sorry for the complainant because you can see in their eyes that half the time they'd prefer a big chap or a couple of big chaps to sort out their problem and what they've got is a 9 stone policewoman.

The men expect that when their button goes, they expect you to have a safety pin. But where on earth should we carry a safety pin.

All three women inspectors we have were promoted into jobs where they did a 9 to 5 , they weren't needed operationally. They felt perhaps the women weren't up to it. Of course that's not the case.

I was given a beat I had to walk alone. I didn't like it but there was no way I was going to admit it.

I did it because I wanted to prove that I could damn well do it just as well as the others and I fond out as the years went on that I was probably the only one walking at that particular time because my colleagues would be in a pub somewhere drinking.

To be honest I get under stress, I'm not ashamed to admit it but there are other officers who are under stress and won't admit it.

I think they are encouraging more women now. It depends on ... some bosses like women to go up others don't. It depends who your boss is.

I did apply at one time to the Bermuda police, 2 of the boys applied and they had application forms back and I had a letter saying they did not accept foreign female Applicants and I walked round thinking "I'm not foreign".

Sometimes a policewoman in a fight situation actually calms the situation.

A woman witness said " I could see the policewoman in the thick of it, she was

brave sorting it out and there were two policemen there standing and watching her" which was right but what she didn't know was these boys, they were talking to me and having a laugh and a joke but I felt that if those policemen had spoken to them it would have been different.

There were comments passed afterwards "You shouldn't have got out of the car" and I said "Well how can you say that, I'm getting paid the same as the men " "Ah but you're a woman" they said.

There's another policewoman in T now, she doesn't like children, she's not maternal at all.

There used to be one like that here, I don't think she booked anyone the whole time she was here, so she just sits there looking pretty and the sergeant wasn't any help because he thought policewomen were there to make the office look nice.

When I first joined the sergeant wouldn't let me out of the station for 3 months, then I was let out for a day and I booked 6 people on that one day.

He (probationer constable) could not take orders from a women.

I always, when I'm working with a married policeman, make sure I get to know his wife.

I am the only woman in the department and I work with 18 men. Individually they are all very good but as a group they put up this hard image.

They aren't prepared to show it, being upset, and I think this is the big difference between men and women.

I had three hangings in a week and I'd come back feeling upset and have all the boys cracking jokes and I used to think "Why don't you all grow up and shut up", you know but because they are a group, not one of them would do it individually.

To be honest I think they get worse, men, as they get older,.. I think women become far more aware as they get older and far more serious, but men revert.

I just broke down in the car and this policeman, I just couldn't believe what he was like. Policemen have a tendency to talk about other people but this particular policeman listened and said "Have a good cry , I won't say anything".

I would trust a female more in the job but I prefer to work with men.

I said "I'm not doing it, that is a job for cleaners not police officers" and the sergeant said "I've given you an order, now get and sweep that floor" and there were all the boys just standing there looking and I feel humiliated but they know it, they know what he's like, so I said "No, I'm not doing it".

I've been on a few outings lately with the boys and they all say to me that when I came over here I had a bit of a chip on my shoulder.

I wanted to prove myself because I felt I wasn't wanted here, I wanted to show that I could do the job standing on my head as good as anybody else, despite the fact

that I only had 3 years in the job.

I got assaulted up in P (housing estate) , the only reason I got assaulted there was because I was trying to prove myself and I was going to every call and I was the first officer on the scene, and as a result I was assaulted.

You don't want to ask for advice because then they might start to thinking "Oh, she's hopeless, she can't do it for herself".

It's always good to know but when you actually get involved in a situation, its always nice to say "Oh yes I've got a yellow belt and I can do the moves" , there's no way you're going to do it in practice. I couldn't maybe some of the men could.

I don't really know any other policewomen in the force; I don't mind being the only women.

Category 5: Fulfilment - Lack of Fulfilment

I've got people working with me who are much more experienced years-wise but who haven't had such a wide base as I've had, which gives you a feeling of confidence that you do know what you talk about.

If I'd just stayed in N, worked on the beat and gone straight to CID without going to these other things, I wouldn't be aware of them as I am

I don't see the follow up of how victim support helps someone through. I never know the results

That's the day you want to give up on it all and then you get the letter and you think "OK well maybe I'm not wasting my time"

If you miss a meal break, you miss a meal break, you just work on until you've done something

I only worry about things that directly affect me and if there's something I can do about it, and if I can't do anything about it then why worry

You don't get any pressure on you at all up here (in C.I.D.). Especially with the females up here you do a lot with children, a lot of females problems ...you can take as much time as you want to talk to people.

Well it all depends on what situations are going on at the time - if there was nothing in the air when your term had finished in this department you'd go straight back downstairs.

When you arrest someone its not just one form you fill in its about 400 forms you fill in

You can submit it and do it all perfectly right and then in a week's time it will be No Further Action written across it and the person you dealt with is walking around laughing their head off. It a joke, you spend all those hours putting the paperwork together and it doesn't go anywhere.

I want to do something else which is far more worthwhile than what I'm doing at present.

It was just the hardest thing I've ever done in my life and using my brains solidly every day of the week for a month, it was just incredible. When I passed I had a grade A pass on it and I was totally chuffed.

If I thought I had a chance of staying on in a department where I could use that permanently I wouldn't think about going because it's so interesting

The senior officers didn't want to know, they said it was too expensive. But it would be ideal, we could refer to it every time.

I don't think I'd get that same excitement somewhere else, I don't know, I've never tried, but I don't think I would.

If I fail something I've got to try harder

I had to waffle my head off for ten minutes and all that time I was thinking "I wish I'd been on a course. At least I'd have some idea"

I've been quite proud of many of those times when I've got confessions, admissions or whatever, that other people haven't done, just by being patient or by being polite.

I did feel quite pleased about that and I felt pleased, perhaps not for myself, but because I was woman because none of the men did it or showed any inclination to do it.

There have been many changes in the job in recent months which are the most ridiculous imaginable. It's put the force back at least 10 or 15 years. It is a joke.

You haven't got time very often to do the things you would like to do, and you can't just leave them and it is difficult to draw the line.

I like to see a clear desk, its a lovely feeling you don't get very often but to know you've cleared your backlog, that's a sense of achievement definitely

When I'm actually given one of these cases to deal with I don't know what decisions have been made and how on earth I'm going to play this.

I never managed to speak to anyone who said A) you've got to do that B)you've got to do this and if you can't to B get onto D, and generally give me a set pattern of what to do with.

I got to know the county solicitor who's dealing with them, and I've developed my own contacts, built up a working relationship with social services, but I didn't half wish I'd been on a course - I just didn't know what I had to do.

Yes, it is emotionally upsetting but not to that extent because at the end of the day its thrilling to think you've possibly saved the children's lives.

It's dangerous, you shouldn't get too confident about going to court, I think its safer to always be a little bit apprehensive and nervous, because you don't know

what's going to happen in there but if you're slightly nervous you're going to concentrate a bit harder.

Every shift was really exciting because its nothing like training so I found it very, very exciting to begin with.

I managed to handcuff him and I don't know how but not before he kicked me in the shins, headbutted my colleague, split his lip, we were spinning round the room and it was a hell of a state, of course you are 10 or 15 minutes from help, that's why you've got to learn to speak before you, you've got to try to talk your way out of it.

Well, alright, they had a laugh but why should I go to a post-mortem, what benefit do I get from seeing them prodding around and why should I go there?

Well I had my whole weekend, you only get one weekend off in four. I had my whole weekend, I was going to go out Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Of course I had to stay in because.. well its vain, but I didn't want to go out to a club with a fat lip.

I don't particularly like nights but its nice, you have the day free then so it comes in handy.

The training was useless, I mean, the physical made you cope with shifts better, it made you a bit fitter but the role plays... alright you've got to learn the law but you didn't learn much law there, its only when you're out on the street that you really think.

They ring up and they're so abusive because you haven't sent anybody and I mean you've got burglaries and God knows what outstanding, and you haven't got anyone to go and yet these people with abandoned cars which is a favourite you know, "Well why haven't you sent anyone to check this car"

You get told "No, you don't make decisions" and you think "What am I paid for?", I mean you've got to make decisions, the sergeant isn't always there.

We then have to create an incident for every 999 call received, even if you've no information .. it's all time wasting you know, when most of the time there's more urgent things to be done.

Well, I mean, I haven't been in may pursuits but once the adrenaline is flowing you've got this silly woman or man on the end of the radio saying "Why are you pursuing this vehicle. What are road conditions" and the poor driver is trying to drive, probably at high speed 'cos you don't get many low speed pursuits, he's trying to be aware of the public, the road and he's got this silly woman prattling in his ear, but HQ say they have to be asked these questions.

The powers that be down in HQ, you know in the communications division, they just sit and they check all the incidents and they think "Oh she's put three s's in that word and there are only two, I think we'll tell her off about that", it's pathetic, absolutely pathetic. We don't want praise every day but we could do without the nit-picking.

I didn't like not being recognised as a police officer, you know, having to go round and show the warrant card, I like the uniform, I like for people to know

who I am.

Nothing has ever put me into ecstatic excitement about anything to do with the police

I get really annoyed with the attitude of putting the kiddie back in the family unit only to find out that the next time you're on duty on nights or weekends we get the same call.

When I've worked really hard and felt "Well, I really deserve a commendation" - nothing.

He wrote this lovely letter to the Chief Constable saying what a darling I was not breathalising him and of course, I was dragged over the coals for neglecting my duty. When you expect them to shut up they don't and when you expect them to say something .....

What I consider a good result the public might not, its a personal thing.

He was armed and they discharged a firearm, I hid under the seat, now I've never been armed, I don't want to be, it's a personal thing .. nothing would have brought me out of there and my partner was saying "It's alright H, it's alright".

Its the Police instant expert syndrome, I know nothing about licensing, I'm here purely and simply because I'm the senior sergeant in the sub-division. It's the same on the drug squad, you go Monday and Tuesday you should be able to distinguish heroin from crack.

I joined just when the policewoman's dept. was in existence and I was up to my armpits in lost kids, shop-lifters and just generally it wasn't the things I wanted to do.

It came to the point where I had to return to Force (from being an instructor). Fair enough I knew that was coming along but where was I going to go and I just kept hanging on and hanging on waiting to know where I was going to. It did make me ill in the end.

I think you've got to give yourself a project if you like and certain ideals to achieve.

I thought "Well, I've got to specialise in something" because it is the done thing to specialise in something. So I thought "Well I'll pick something which is nearest to the beat that I can get", which is training so that's why I picked training.

While I had been in bed the CID had taken over interviewing them and I was just lying there thinking " I wish I could be there hearing exactly what had happened and what they're saying"

It was a male body. I had to physically search it and I couldn't do it. I never told anyone that I hadn't done it. I didn't search him.

Maybe they think that if they encourage you to look at it like that . it's not going to be so difficult but I mean if you're on your own in a room with a corpse there's noone to crack a sick joke with and you've just got to do it.

Paperwork really gets me down. Constantly shuffling one bit of paper from one department to another you know. God, it's ridiculous. It seems to me to create more problems than it actually solves.

That was like a test for myself as well and I passed for myself, it was a physical courage test as well.

I think we're a very badly qualified profession, you know , I've tried my exams twice and failed but I think in our job, we shouldn't be allowed to go on for years and years and not pass our exams.

I went on a child abuse course and I haven't dealt with one since. So if there's one came up tomorrow now, I mean things I should remembering, I wouldn't.

I've never got enough time to do what I want to do and I always seem to be snowed under with people, whereas the boys seem to dash theirs off and there's no problem.

I've got so much to do and I can't cope.

I think whereas the boys can write it straight down, I can't. I've never been able to do that, I always write it down in rough first.

I couldn't come in tomorrow morning and say "Right I'm going to do this today", you know, I mean there's no such thing as forward planning.

I wouldn't fit into another job. If I do finish in the police force I would never do anything else. I'd do voluntary work but I would never work for somebody else.

It takes a great deal now to probably excite me and you probably become used to dealing with most incidents.

I thought there was something I had never ever thought of before as a platform for some form of Crime Prevention.

Now I came from there, from his office, in total trepidation because in general policing terms writing an annual report has got nothing whatsoever as I saw it to do with policing.

I was responsible for force budget, millions of pounds with no experience in accounting and I found it astonishing that the force should give me such a responsibility with virtually no training.

It's one of the weaknesses in the police force that they are constantly changing, you can be expected to become an instant expert.

If you are young in service then you, perhaps you are more idealistic and you expect it to be something different but it really is what I expect it to be.

I mean perhaps not wearing your helmet, where its seen perhaps as a serious offence to management, but at the time the circumstances were such that the officer was doing, in your opinion, a good job.

Certainly male officers tend to think that all women have got the maternal instinct and want to look after all the missing kids and I don't think that's the case.

When I joined if you started your pocket book in black ink you weren't allowed to change it. You know its really sort of archaic.

She was admitting offences, but having been in CID so long, I knew they would prefer to have a witness statement off her rather than start to caution her and making her uptight and whatever and so I took it as a witness statement.

Being excited was true of those years the early, early years but then as the years wore on, um, I suppose you got used to the job.

I went to the acting Inspector and I basically, well , I complained. He said "ah, he's going to sit his exams, you should give him credit for that" and I said "Balls, I'm qualified" so anyway I won my case and I became custody officer.

A lot of policework is mundane, events I suppose account for 10% of policing.

I had a commendation in court for basically my observation and yes that patted me on the back as well. That is sadly lacking.

After 3 months I'd learned everything and I didn't enjoy what I was doing, I found the work very boring and I resented it.

You were doing the same thing day in, day out. It was making me ill, I was smoking 60 a day and I came out in eczema and I was losing weight and I just couldn't handle it. I put a report in and went to see my boss ... and back to uniform.

To be honest I get under stress, I'm not ashamed to admit it but there are other officers who are under stress and won't admit it.

I was on my own and because I was a woman they tried to take advantage and the number of times I've laid the law down and an argument has developed and the Customs have had to come and help me.

I enjoy my work, I get satisfaction out of knowing I've helped someone and especially when that someone has written in a letter saying "Thank you to the police officer".

I don't want that responsibility of being a sergeant, I feel I've got enough responsibility as it is.

That would be the line of work I would like, dealing with sexual offences but the whole force not just locally, any sexual offence, child abuse, rape or something like that, to be a unit working together which would respond to each one.

If they don't like you and you do something wrong they'll be quick enough to pick up on it, but if you do something good you're hardly ever praised.

This year I've been assaulted twice and its the first time I've been assaulted. I'm still receiving treatment.

It really is very disappointing when they get off with it and you know that you've got to go back then and speak to the victim's family and try to convince them that it was the jury or whatever, not anything they said.

I would hate to know that each and every single day I would be interviewing children about battering or indecency or that sort of thing. I mean you've got to have A break or you really would go round the bend.

I'm still not much good at accidents, deciding who to blame.

You've got about half a dozen horrible cases on the go, one after the other and you think "Oh God, I just can't take any more listening to this filth!".

I thought the job was out there on the street, dealing with the public, speaking to people, that's what I joined for, well of course it was inside on this computer and it just wasn't me.

I charged him with every offence I could think of.

I thought it was particularly good result because it was 2 years service and getting involved in something like that but when the file was sent back to me it had on there "This girl ought to be in CID".

There were 5 people sent down from T for promotion boards and the other boys all got their white papers all except for me. I was disappointed but I would never have shown them for one minute.

It was embarrassment more than anything, and pride, it hurt my pride, the fact that I couldn't catch them despite running after them.

It was a call you shouldn't attend really, but I thought "Oh, I'll go I might get a prisoner out of it.

I get excited about it all. Especially if its to do with old people or detecting something that wouldn't normally be detected.

I just couldn't believe it and I thought to myself that all that work I had done the week before , all the statements I'd taken were a waste of time. He just could have admitted the one, had all the others TIC'd and there would have been no paperwork.

I would do this for the rest of my life if I could, But they obviously move you after a while.

We eventually had to withdraw everything and you're getting problems from everywhere, not just your witnessed, you get problems from your bosses who are saying "You've put all this time into it and its wasted" so you get flack from all sides.

They all want it done easily, they all hope that you just have a quick phone call and the big result is going to be there

When you do the same thing every single day you get a bit lax I think

When there's someone else there you're both sort of at it but when you're on your own you feel more proud of yourself.

To be honest I prefer being in uniform, being out there with the public, walking around, I mean you can deal with so many different things.